Religious pluralism among young Muslim adults in contemporary Israel

– A qualitative study on tendencies towards religious pluralism among Muslim university students in Israel

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Israel är ett land där flera religioner är representerade och landet är präglat av konflikter mellan de religiösa grupperna. I den här avhandlingen så undersöker jag hur muslimska universitetsstuderande i Israel relaterar till andra muslimer, till människor med andra religioner och till politiska frågor som har att göra med religiös pluralism. Jag använder perspektiv på religiös pluralism som teori i avhandlingen. Jag förstår och använder termen religiös pluralism som 1) en empirisk form av religiös diversitet, och 2) en normativ religiös pluralism som innefattar tanken om att religiös pluralism är eftersträvansvärt. Jag fokuserar också på en form av religiös pluralism som kallas för djup pluralism; ett synsätt som har utvecklats av William E. Connolly och handlar om en multidimensionell religiös pluralism på samhällelig nivå. Eftersom mitt syfte är att studera vilka spår av religiös pluralism det finns hos unga vuxna muslimer i Israel så förankras avhandlingen i bakgrundsinformation om unga vuxna och religion samt om det religiösa landskapet i Israel. Genom att läsaren förstår vilka faktorer som påverkar unga vuxna och vilka uppfattningar och åsikter det finns hos olika religiösa grupper i Israel så kan hen även bättre förstå sammanhanget för min avhandling. Materialet som jag använder är insamlat inom projektet *Young adults and religion in a global perspective: A cross-cultural, comparative and mixed-method study of religious subjectivities and values in their context.* Jag använder åtta Faith Q-sort-analyser och åtta intervjuer. Faith Q-sort är en metod utvecklad ur Q-metodologi. Ur ett litet sampel kan man med hjälp av den här metoden identifiera prototyper, påhittade idealpersoner, som representerar olika religiösa subjektiviteter som finns i samplet. I det muslimska samplet i Israel identifierades fyra prototyper. Jag använder dessa prototyper, och åtta respondenter som liknar prototyperna, i min analys av religiös pluralism. Intervjuerna som jag använder har gjorts i samband med Faith Q-sort och i intervjuerna fick respondenterna en chans att förklara sina val i Faith Q-sort. Resultaten som jag fick från min analys visar att alla fyra prototyper på något sätt lever liv som involverar pluralism. Däremot så visar prototyp ett endast svaga tecken på detta medan prototyp fyra trots en pluralistisk livsstil framstår som likgiltig. Prototyp två lever både ett liv och har värderingar som visar på religiös pluralism, medan prototyp tre lever enligt pluralistiska värderingar men ändå inte uppvisar engagemang i ämnet. Avslutningsvis så kan man säga att de unga muslimska universitetsstuderande som jag har studerat visar på pluralistiska värderingar, men av varierande omfattning och typ.
Nyckelord: religiös pluralism, pluralism, Israel, muslimer, unga vuxna, religiositet, religiös diversitet, djup pluralism, William E. Connolly
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ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY – FACULTY OF ARTS, PSYCHOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

Master's thesis abstract

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Israel is a country in which many religions exist, and a country characterized by conflicts between religious groups. In this thesis, I study how Muslim university students in Israel relate to other Muslims, to people from other religions, and to political matters that concern religious pluralism. Religious pluralism serves as the theoretical framework of the study and is defined as: 1) An empirical form of religious diversity and 2) A normative standpoint regarding this, according to which diversity is desirable. I also emphasize on a theory called deep pluralism, which was developed by William E. Connolly and refers to a multidimensional religious pluralism in a society.

Since the purpose of the study is to explore what tendencies towards religious pluralism there are among young Muslim adults in Israel, I give some background information on young adults and religion, as well as on the religious landscape of Israel. Understanding what factors influence a young adult, and what kind of views and opinions the different religious groups in Israel have, helps the reader understand the material that I use in this thesis.

The material that I use is collected within a project called *Young adults and religion in a global perspective: A cross-cultural, comparative and mixed-method study of religious subjectivities and values in their context.* I use eight Faith Q-sorts and eight interviews, all done with Muslims in Israel. Faith Q-sort is a method based on Q-methodology and it consists of 101 statements written on cards, which are sorted into categories depending on how the respondents relate to the statements. With this method it is possible to statistically extract prototypes, or fictional ideal personas, from a small sample, and these represent the religious subjectivities found in the sample. Four prototypes emerged from the Israeli Muslim sample. I use these prototypes, and eight respondents who scored closely to the prototypes, when analyzing tendencies towards pluralism. The interviews that I use were conducted in connection to the Faith Q-sorts, giving the respondents a chance to explain the choices they made in the Faith Q-sort.

The results I found in the analysis were that all prototypes in one way or another lead pluralist lives. However, prototype one only indicates vague signs of it, and prototype four shows a clear indifference towards it. Prototype two leads a pluralist life, has pluralist values, and also shows signs of deep pluralism. Prototype three leads a pluralist life but lacks opinions or engagement in the matter. In conclusion, the young Muslim university students that I have studied show pluralist values, but to a varying degree.

Key words: religious pluralism, pluralism, Israel, Muslims, young adults, religiosity, religious diversity, deep pluralism, William E. Connolly

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1 Introduction

Every day, the world becomes more globalized and diverse. Almost all countries in the world are today diverse, in one way or another. People move around, the Internet and media make the information flow fast, and all around the globe people are more aware of each other. People from different cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds live in the same societies.

Religious diversity and religious pluralism have interested many a scholar during the last decades. What happens when people from different religions live side by side? Israel is a country in which more than one religion exist and where people have to share their every-day with people who believe in something different than they do themselves. Israel is also a country characterized by conflicts between people from different religions and with different political views. Since its declaration of independency in 1948 Israel has been involved in both wars and in peace negotiations, and the effects of these events are still a concern in Israel today (www.cia.gov, 2019).

In this thesis, I study how young Muslim university students in Israel relate to people from other religions. I also study how they relate to Islam and other Muslims, as well as to political circumstances in Israel that concern religious pluralism. It is important to study young adults and their views, knowing that they will lead the country in the future. It is also imperative to understand what tendencies towards pluralism there are among the young adult population of Muslims in Israel if one wants to do constructive and preventive work for a peaceful and socially functioning diverse future society in Israel. I discuss and define my understanding of the term religious pluralism in chapter 3, as it is complicated and multifaceted. However, my understanding of the term in short is: 1) an empirically descriptive form of diversity or 2) a normative pluralism according to which diversity is valued and desirable.

All material I use in this thesis is collected within the project *Young adults and religion in a global perspective: A cross-cultural, comparative and mixed-method study of religious subjectivities and values in their context* (Åbo Akademi University,

2015–2018). One of the methods used in the project is called Faith Q-sort and it is also one out of two methods that I use in this thesis. The method is relatively new and has not before been used to explicitly study religious pluralism. I discuss the method further in chapter 4.

In chapter 1.1 I discuss the aim of my study and research questions, while I in chapter 1.2 I go through the outline of this thesis and describe the different parts of it.

1.1 Aim of the study and research questions

The aim of the study is to investigate what signs of religious pluralism can be found among Muslim university students in Israel. Besides religious pluralism, I have also put theoretical emphasis on deep religious pluralism. This form of religious pluralism is a concept that William E. Connolly has developed (2005) and that is both normative and descriptive, and it includes deeper and more multidimensional forms of pluralism in a society. I discuss deep religious pluralism in chapter 3.1.

The main research question in this thesis is: How is religious pluralism showcased in the sample of Muslim university students in Israel? I look at this question through the lens of four main ways of being religious. These are so called prototypes and stem from a Faith Q-sort analysis, which is a method based on Q-methodology and which measures individual religiosity. The prototypes are fictional ideal-characters typical for the sample. I discuss these prototypes in detail in chapter 4.1.

From my main research question follows also other research questions, such as:

- What standpoints on religious pluralism can be found in the four prototypes characterizing the young adult Muslim university students in Israel?
- To what extent and how do young adult Muslims in Israel associate with people from other religions?
- What attitudes do young adult Muslims in Israel have on Muslims who display a different kind of Muslim religiosity than them?
- What kind of political matters do young adult Muslims support, oppose, or want to discuss, that have to do with religious pluralism in any way?

The material and methods I use in this thesis, in combination with the theoretical frameworks of religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism, assist me in discovering contemporary thoughts and patterns among the Muslim university students in Israel.

1.2 Outline of the study

Chapter 2 deals with background information that is relevant to have knowledge in when further exploring the themes of this thesis. Chapter 2.1 focuses on young adults and religion in general. I discuss what factors affect young adults and their religiosity. This is relevant due to the fact that these factors could have also affected the respondents that the sample I study in this thesis is comprised of, and having knowledge about these influencing factors helps when trying to understand the respondents and their worldviews. Chapter 2.2 deals with the religious landscape in Israel. I briefly describe the complex religious landscape in Israel, which I find to be essential for the reader in order for him or her to follow my analysis and its meaningfulness. Chapter 2.2.1 further focuses on religious identities and beliefs among Israelis, chapter 2.2.2 on religious commitment and religion in public life in Israel, and chapter 2.2.3 on religion and social life in Israel.

In chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical frameworks used in this thesis. The theories discussed and used are religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism. Religious pluralism has many forms, and William E. Connolly's deep religious pluralism (Connolly, 2005) is one of them. As underlined earlier, religious pluralism is a term that can be used descriptively – in which case it describes a diverse society. It can also be used normatively – in which case the term includes values and a perception of diversity as something positive and valuable. Deep religious pluralism is normative; it refers to normative religious pluralism in a deeper, more accepting and including way. It is also descriptive, as it is not only an ideology but also a theory aspiring to explain how deep pluralism works in a society. This is discussed in chapter 3.1. Chapter 3.2 deals with religious pluralism in Islam. Here, I discuss the

diversity within Islam, as well as the opinions and attitudes towards pluralism among Muslims and in the Muslim community.

In chapter 4, I present the material and methods of the thesis. The methodology consists of two methods: Faith Q-sort and interviews. The Faith Q-sort is a type of Q-methodology developed specifically for studying individuals' religiosity (Wulff, 2019; Nynäs, Kontala, Lassander, 2019). It consists of statements that the respondents are to sort into categories depending on how they relate to them. The interviews are conducted right after the sorting process, and in the interviews the respondents are able to discuss the statements from the Faith Q-sort. There were 22 Faith Q-sorts and interviews done in the Muslim population in Israel, I use eight of them in this thesis. I discuss the selection process, as well as the materials and methods more closely, in chapter 4.1 and 4.2. In these chapters, I also describe the prototypes that emerged from the sample and that I use as an empirical framework in the analysis. All material used in this thesis has, as mentioned earlier, been collected within the research project *Young adults and religion in a global perspective: A cross-cultural, comparative and mixed-method study of religious subjectivities and values in their context* (Åbo Akademi University, 2015 – 2018).

In chapter 5, I present the finds from the analysis. This is done in correspondence to all parts of the thesis, but especially through the lens of religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism. Each of the sub-chapters focuses on one of the prototypes, but the sub-chapters is also categorized according to themes that have to do with religious pluralism and that come up in the interviews. These themes are: other religions and people from other religions, Islam and other Muslims, and politics concerning pluralism. Chapter 5.5 is a conclusion and discussion of the results.

In the last chapter of the thesis, chapter 6, I discuss my finds and results in relation to the research questions. I also discuss what significance the results have, both for the academic society and for future work regarding pluralism in Israel. In this final concluding chapter, I also review and evaluate the reliability of the results, and I discuss what further studies would be beneficial.

2 Background

This chapter focuses on young adults and religion, and on the religious landscape in Israel. The purpose of chapter 2.1 is to shed light on parts of young adults' lives that may play a role when they develop their spiritual or religious views. By young adults, I mean persons who are between the age of 20 and 30. The religious views young adults develop are connected with the aim of my study, and that is why I have chosen to bring up this subject. In the following sub-chapters, I discuss the religious landscape in Israel. Knowledge about the religious identities in the country, as well as the religious practises, beliefs, and social relations among the people in Israel, is important when further studying the attitudes of young Muslim adults in Israel. To sum it up, an understanding of young adults' religiosity in the religious landscape of Israel is needed for the reader to understand this thesis.

For the correct understanding of the discussion about young adults and religion, definitions of a few terms are needed. First, the term "identity", which according to the Cambridge Dictionary refers to a set of characteristics or qualities that differentiate a person or a group from others (dictionary.cambridge.org, 2019). In this thesis it also refers to a self-examined identity, it is an identity that the respondents feel that they relate to. Second, the term "religious affiliation" needs to be defined. Affiliation means, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, a connection to a political party, religion, or large organization (dictionary.cambridge.org, 2019). Religious affiliation therefore refers to a connection one has to a religious institution or organization. It is possible that a person officially belongs to the religious organization, but it is not imperative. Finally, a definition for the term "attitude" is needed. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, attitude has many meanings. The definition of attitude that I use in this thesis is attitude as an opinion or feeling about something or someone. The attitude may also cause a person to act in a certain way. Hence, attitude is an opinion – and may also be a way of behaving, caused by the opinion (dictionary.cambridge.org, 2018). Moreover, in chapter 2.1 I define the term "religious", as well as the term "spiritual", which are both related to this matter.

2.1 Young adults and religion

During the third decade in life, one encounters many turning points (e.g. job searching, creating a new family), which lead to attempts to make sense of these new experiences. This is what is called meaning making. Young adulthood, or emerging adulthood, is a time for meaning making and finding oneself. This also happens on a spiritual level, and means that young adults often search for spiritual guidance and beliefs during this third decade of their lives (McNamara Barry & Abo-Zena, 2014, 3-5). Of course, this meaning making depends much on context, which I will explore closer in this chapter.

The book I mainly base this chapter on is called *Emerging Adults' Religiousness and Spirituality – Meaning-Making in an Age of Transition,* edited by McNamara Barry and Abo-Zena (2014). It offers a broad approach to the subject at hand, authors specializing in different fields have written all chapters. One shortcoming, in the context of this thesis, is that the book is very focused on the United States. Being a young adult in the United States may be different from being a young adult in Israel since the society and culture are different. However, I have chosen to use this book since I find that young adults have many things in common, regardless of where they come from.

First, it is important to define the terms religious/ religion and spirituality. There are many definitions and interpretations of the terms, and I cannot be sure that the participants in the interviews that make up my material have the same understanding of the terms as I do. Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity in this thesis, it is still important to define what I mean by these terms. McNamara Barry and Abo-Zena refer to Pargament's definition, according to which spirituality is the search for the sacred, while religiousness is this same search within a specific institution that is established to promote spirituality (Pargament, 1997, 32-33; McNamara Barry & Abo-Zena, 2014, 5-6). I adopt this definition.

There are two potentially influencing factors on young adults' spirituality or religiosity that I now focus on: peers and higher education. Peer relationships often become more important during young adulthood, which means that these

relationships may have a prominent role in the religious socialization. There are four kinds of peer relationships: sibling relationships, friends, romantic relationships, and other, not close, relationships. However, the authors emphasize that parents generally have been the biggest influencers so far when speaking of religiosity in a young adult's life. These other relationships, however, may be more important specifically during young adulthood. Siblings have a distinguished role in the religious development since they are the most enduring of all peer relationships. Siblings also have the same background as the young adult. Siblings can be seen as spiritual role models in many young adults' lives (McNamara Barry & Christofferson, 2014, 76-79).

Friends often share thoughts on religion and spirituality, and talk to each other about them while trying to find their way in life. This makes up a mutual religious development influenced by each other. Young adults often seek religious discourses together, and give each other affirmation on each other's religious thoughts. McNamara Barry and Christofferson point out, that scholars in the future should study the effect of friend selection on both religiosity and spirituality, and also on behaviour (McNamara Barry & Christofferson, 2014, 79-83). Romantic partners have an effect on religiosity and spirituality since they often are the people young adults spend the most time with, and thereby also get the closest with. Romantic partners also develop values from each other, meaning that the behaviour and attitudes of one's romantic partner form one's own thoughts as well (McNamara Barry & Christofferson, 2014, 83-84). Other kinds of peer relationships are also important in different ways when looking at a young adult's religious socialization. Work colleagues and people who attend the same religious events have, among others, different impacts on the young adult's meaning making process (McNamara Barry & Christofferson, 2014, 85-87).

Since all respondents in the material that I use in my study are students at a university, it is also important to look at the impact that higher education has on young adults' spirituality and religiosity. Young adults who go to university often find a more diverse context than they are used to. Although the university itself may not always promote religiousness or spirituality in their curriculum, students meet people from diverse backgrounds when entering university (Glanzer, Hill & Ream,

2014, 164-165). On their website, University of Haifa, which is where all interviews in my study have taken place, refer to themselves as being the most pluralistic institution of higher education in Israel. Many of the participants I use in my study have also studied at the University of Haifa, while some have studied at other universities. On their website The University of Haifa also regard themselves as a good example of how research and teaching work in an environment filled with respect and inclusiveness (www.haifa.ac.il, 2012). Further, they claim:

> The University's distinctive mission is to foster academic excellence in an atmosphere of tolerance and multiculturalism – an environment which contributes to excellent research and to more exceptional, creative and productive alumni – while strengthening Israel's northern region to the benefit of strengthening Israel as a whole. We view this mission as being of strategic importance to the continued existence and prosperity of the State of Israel (www.haifa.ac.il, 2012).

Studying at University of Haifa may have influenced the participants in my study in different ways, when looking at their development of religiosity and spirituality. They may have met people from different backgrounds than themselves, and hence been forced to deal with these encounters on a personal and religious level. The participants in my study who have studied at other universities may have had similar experiences, since the social contexts in universities, no matter the university, generally are more diverse than what young adults are used to in their hometowns. There are no exclusively Muslim universities in Israel, meaning that all universities Muslims attend are religiously mixed.

The factors influencing young adults' religiosity and spirituality discussed here are by no means the only influencing factors. There are many others, such as socio-economic background, culture and media that to a varied degree also affect the religiosity and spirituality of young adults. I chose to discuss peers and higher education since they are topics that also come up in the interviews.

2.2 The religious landscape in Israel

This chapter is mainly based on a study conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2014-2015, *Israel's Religiously Divided Society – Deep gulfs among Jews, as well as between Jews and Arabs, over political values and religion's role in public life* (2016). The study focuses on themes such as religious affiliation, identity, beliefs and practises, politics, public life, and intergroup friendship and marriage. The sample size of the study was 5 567 people, and the overall response rate was 57 percent.

Jews make up the great majority with about 74.7 percent of the Israeli population. Muslims make up around 17.7 percent of the population. Other religious minorities include Christians, 2 percent, Druze, 1.6 percent, and other religions, 4 percent (www.cia.gov, 2016). The Druze religion has around two million adherents worldwide; most of them live in Lebanon, Syria and Israel. The Druze religious traditions and dogmas are secret, and only a small portion of the Druze themselves have knowledge in them (app.shaanan.ac.il, 2015). Most of the Muslims, Christians and Druze are ethnically Arabic, while most of the Jews by definition are of Jewish ethnicity. Forty percent of the Jews who responded to the Pew Research Center study identify as secular Jews. The Jews generally speak Hebrew, while the Arabs mainly speak Arabic. A sub-group of Arabs are the Bedouins. I now shortly discuss the Bedouins, because two of the respondents in my study are Bedouins, and a basic knowledge of them is hence beneficial.

The Bedouins live in the Negev desert and in the central and northern parts of Israel, and make up around 3.5 percent of the Israeli population (2004). Around 50 percent of the Bedouins who live in the Negev live in seven cities that the state of Israel restricted them to, while the rest live in settlements unrecognized by the state. These Bedouin settlements have no municipal status and are threatened to be demolished. This has caused some tension between the state of Israel and the Negev Bedouins. The Bedouins in central and northern Israel live in settlements recognized by the state and with municipal status (www.knesset.gov.il, 2010).

Traditionally, Bedouins have made their living on agriculture. However, recently the state has destroyed crops growing on disputed land, making it difficult for Bedouins to stay farmers. Despite the modernization that this has caused among the Bedouins, polygamy is still fairly common; around 25 percent of Bedouins live in polygamous relationships. Many Bedouins also do military service in the Israeli Defence Forces, but this has not led to any greater integration of the Bedouins in the Israeli society. On the contrary, the questions of land ownership have been bound to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and have led many Bedouins to feel a stronger Palestinian identity (www.knesset.gov.il, 2010). The Islamic Movement, a political movement whose northern branch was outlawed by the state in 2015 (www.ynetnews.com, 2015), has gained followers among this section of Islamic Bedouins. The Bedouins live under the worst conditions in Israel when it comes to socioeconomic matters, as their unemployment rates are higher than among the rest of the population and their educational levels are lower (www.knesset.gov.il, 2010).

2.2.1 Religious identities and beliefs

As stated earlier, the majority of Israeli citizens are Jews. In the Pew Research Center study, around 81 percent of participants identify as Jews and 14 percent of the participants identify as Muslims. Christians and Druze each make up two percent of the participants. Religious conversion is nearly non-existent in Israel, and almost all participants in the study at the time of the study identified correspondingly to how they were raised (Pew Research Center, 2016, 66-71).

A small majority of the Jews in Israel say that being Jewish is mainly a matter of ancestry or culture, while around 22 percent of them say that it is mainly a matter of religion. The answers are vastly different depending on Jewish subgroup. When studying Muslims in Israel, around 45 percent say that being Muslim is mainly a matter of religion, while only 29 percent think that it is mainly a matter of ancestry or culture. One-in-three Israeli Christians and Druze also think that their religious identity mainly is a matter of ancestry or culture. Among Israeli Jews, around 54 percent think that being Jewish is very important to them. Among Muslims, Druze, and Christians, the equivalent number is 72 percent. The answers to these questions

by Muslims and Jews are not significantly different when looking at the participants' age or gender, and by Muslims not significantly different when looking at their level of education either (Pew Research Center, 2016, 72-78). More than 90 percent of participants from all four religious affiliations are proud to be Jewish, Muslim, Druze, or Christian. However, Jews, Druze and Christians are more likely to say that they have a strong sense of belonging to their religious community than the Muslims are (Pew Research Center, 2016, 80).

What are then the religious practises and beliefs essential to Jewish, Muslim, or Christian identity? Among Jews, there is little consensus on this question. Although, 65 percent of the participating Jews agreed with a statement saying that remembering the Holocaust is important. 47 percent think that leading a moral life is important, 35 percent that observing the Jewish law is important, and 33 percent that living in Israel is important. In another section of the survey, participants were able to, in their own words, explain other factors that are important for the Jewish identity. Here, a majority mentioned giving a Jewish education to their children or sharing Jewish traditions with their children. Other factors that came up here were for example: being close to family, having a sense of belonging to the Jewish community, having knowledge of one's history, and following religious traditions (Pew Research Center, 2016, 81-83).

Less than one-in-five Jews think that one can be Jewish if one believes Jesus was Messiah. In contrast, almost 90 percent of Jews think that one can be Jewish even if one is strongly critical of a Jewish state or if one works on the Sabbath. Around half of the Jewish participants think that one can be Jewish even if one thinks that the Palestinians should be allowed to return to Israel. On the other hand, 40 percent think that this disqualifies a person from being Jewish (Pew Research Center, 2016, 84-85).

Only 11 percent of Muslims in Israel think that one can qualify as Muslim if one does not believe in God, while 12 percent think that one can be Muslim if one believes there were prophets after Muhammad. 58 percent of Muslims think that Muslims can accept Israel as a Jewish state, and as many think that one may not support Palestinians right to return to Israel to be a Muslim. More than 60 percent of

Israeli Muslims think that Muslims do not have to fast during Ramadan or pray several times a day to count as Muslims. Muslims in Israel have different opinions when it comes to which groups qualify as Muslim. 98 percent of Muslims consider Sunnis to be Muslim, but only around half of Muslims consider Sufis, Shias and Ahmadiyyas Muslim. 16 percent think that the Druze are Muslim. Some Israeli Muslims did not respond to the questions about Sufis and Ahmadiyyas, saying that they have no knowledge about the groups (Pew Research Center, 2016, 86-87).

When it comes to Christians in Israel, 14 percent think that one can be Christian even though one does not believe in God. That is the factor most likely to disqualify one from being counted as Christian, of the alternatives offered in the survey. The great majority of Israeli Christians do not think that other practises, such as accepting Israel as a Jewish state, not supporting the Palestinians right to return to Israel, or not going to church nor evangelizing, are disqualifying one from being Christian (Pew Research Center, 2016, 86).

2.2.2 Religious commitment and religion in public life

Practising religion indicates religious commitment. Practising religion includes taking part in religious ceremonies and holidays, praying, and doing other visible acts connected to religion. Overall, Jews in Israel show less religious commitment than Muslims, Christians, and Druze. There is big variance in how Jews practise their religion, depending on subgroup and also on gender. Women show lower levels of religious commitment than men. Among Muslims, the situation is reversed; Muslim women show higher levels of religious commitment than men. Jewish laws that for example say that men should visit the synagogue more often than women may cause some of the differences among Jews in Israel, especially when it comes to differences in gender. However, Jewish men are more likely than Jewish women to say that their religion is important to them (Pew Research Center, 2016, 88).

Muslims, Christians, and Druze all say that religion is an important part of their lives to a higher extent than Jews. Another difference between Jews and Muslims is age in relation to religious commitment. Among Jews, there is no significant difference

when it comes to age and religious commitment – but among Muslims one finds that young Muslims are less likely to show strong religious commitment compared to older age groups (Pew Research Center, 2016, 88).

There are different opinions on what kind of relationship religion and public life should have in Israel. Israeli law defines the country as both democratic and Jewish, but is this possible? The vast majority of Israeli Jews answers yes to this question, but regarding which is more important, Jewish law or democracy, there is no consensus. The participants from the other religious groups are hesitant toward this question. A majority of Muslims, Christians and Druze all say that a Jewish state and a democratic state are incompatible, and they prefer the democratic principles to Jewish law (Pew Research Center, 2016, 189). A majority of Jews oppose making Jewish laws the official laws of Israel, while a slim majority of both Muslims and Christians would prefer religious laws, such as Sharia or the laws of the Bible, to the official laws of Israel (Pew Research Center, 2016, 196-197).

Israel is a parliamentary democracy, where the president is chief of state and the prime minister is head of government. The government consists of ten parties (December 2018), and the parties with the most seats are Likud and the Zionist Union. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu leads the Likud party, and the sitting president Reuben Rivlin is also a member of the same party. The legal system is a mixed system of English common law, British Mandate regulations, and Jewish, Christian and Muslim religious laws (www.cia.gov, 2019).

2.2.3 Religion and social life

Socially, the religious groups in Israel are quite isolated from each other. There are almost no inter-religious marriages, and people from all religious groups claim that their closest friends belong to the same religion as they do. 98 percent of Jews in Israel have Jewish spouses, one percent have Christian, and one percent have unaffiliated spouses. 99 percent of Christians and Muslims in Israel have spouses from the same religion, and among the Druze the number is higher than 99 percent. Israeli Jews are also uncomfortable with their children marrying outside their

religion; 98 percent are uncomfortable with their children marrying a Muslim, while 89 percent are uncomfortable with their children marrying a Christian. The vast majority of Christians, Muslims, and Druze is also uncomfortable with their children marrying outside their religion. Although, Muslims are somewhat more comfortable with this, compared to Christians and Druze. 75 percent of Muslims are uncomfortable with their children marrying a Christian, while 80 percent of Christians are uncomfortable with their children marrying a Muslim (Pew Research Center, 2016, 209-215).

When it comes to friendships across religious groups, Israeli Jews are the ones with most friends within the same religion. Of all Jews, 67 percent say that all of their friends are Jewish, while 31 percent say that most of their friends are Jewish. Among Muslims, only 38 percent say that all their friends are Muslim, 48 percent say that most their friends are Muslim, while 12 percent say that some, hardly any, or none of their friends are Muslim. Christians and Druze show even lower numbers, since only 21 percent and 22 percent of them say that all their friends are Christians and Druze respectively (Pew Research Center, 2016, 218-219).

Although 76 percent of all Israeli Jews say that anti-Semitism is common and increasing, they are less likely to see discrimination in Israeli society than the other religious groups. While 21 percent of all Jews say that there is a lot of discrimination against Muslims, 83 percent of Muslims, 57 percent of Christians, and 53 percent of Druze say the same. On the other hand, 26 percent of Muslims say that they have received sympathy or concern from a Jewish person during the past year, based on their religious affiliation. Furthermore, more Muslims than Christians and Druze have faced discrimination during the past year, for example through physical attacks or by having been stopped and questioned by security forces (Pew Research Center, 2016, 222-228).

2.3 Concluding remarks

In chapter 2, I have discussed young adults' meaning making and religiosity, as well as the religious landscape in Israel. Concerning young adults and religion, I

emphasized on two factors: peer relationships and higher education. The four kinds of peer relationships that I discussed are sibling relationships, friends, romantic relationships, and other, not close, relationships. They all influence young adults in different ways. Young adults who go to university often meet people from diverse backgrounds, which in turn have an impact on the young adults' conception of life.

Jews, Muslims, Christians and Druze make up the main religious landscape in Israel. Muslims, Christians and Druze are mostly Arab, while Jews ethnically are Jewish. I brought up some parts of life among these religious groups that I thought are good to have knowledge in, in order for the reader to understand this thesis. I brought up how the different religious groups identify themselves, what beliefs are considered Jewish, Muslim, Christian or Druze, and what kind of beliefs are not okay in the different religions. I also discussed how the different religious groups in Israel show religious commitment and how they think religion and public life – such as politics – correspond. Lastly, I brought up how religion and social life are intertwined in Israel. For example, I discussed inter-marriages and friendships between people of different religions.

One discussion that I have chosen to leave out from this thesis is the historical view on the religious landscape in Israel. Naturally, the history of Israel has affected the people and their opinions on each other. However, I focus on contemporary Israel in this thesis, and I believe that an understanding of the current religious situation in Israel is sufficient to comprehend the context of my study.

3 Theoretical frameworks

The theoretical framework that I work with in this thesis is religious pluralism, and also to some extent deep religious pluralism. I discuss what deep religious pluralism is, in relation to religious pluralism, later in this chapter. I use the term religious pluralism interchangeably with pluralism, and deep religious pluralism interchangeably with deep pluralism. Pluralism is something that many scholars have studied and debated. I look further into some of these works in this chapter. In chapter 3.2 I also discuss what pluralism looks like in Islam, and how Muslims generally have responded to the growing global diversity.

Pluralism has different definitions and understandings. The term pluralism can be seen as the view, according to which, all world religions are different, equally valid ways to describe the same truth. Pluralism can also be discussed as a moral term – a moral dilemma. Pluralism in this case refers to the question whether all humans have the same moral grounds, but are just shaped by their contexts, or whether their morals are fundamentally different. Other ways of understanding pluralism is as a referral to religious diversity empirically described, to the acceptance of religious diversity, or to the moral and political value of diversity (Illman et al., 2015, 197). Religious diversity and religious pluralism are not the same – but religious pluralism can in some cases include the existence of religious diversity in a specific region. In chapter 3.1 and 3.2 I describe the different understandings of pluralism further, and in chapter 3.3 I discuss which understanding I use when conducting my study.

Other phenomena that are sometimes mixed with pluralism are relativism, religious relativism or cultural relativism. Relativism refers to the doctrine that nothing is absolute; that there is no absolute truth but rather many truths that are true in their own contexts (dictionary.cambridge.org, 2019). Religious relativism in turn, is a belief according to which no religion is true in all contexts, but that many religions can be true in their own contexts. A religion can be true for a person or in a culture, but at the same time can another religion be true for another person or in another culture. Cultural relativism on the other hand, refers to the fact that morals or values are right or wrong only in a certain culture, and that they may be looked upon differently in another culture or in another country (Copan, 1998, 19).

Deep pluralism is a concept that William E. Connolly has created and discussed e.g. in the book *Pluralism* (2005). Deep pluralism, according to Connolly, is a state when people from different religions have come together in a society and have a mutual respect and understanding for each other. Connolly also calls this multidimensional pluralism. A society in which deep pluralism flourishes, the multicultural ideals of today will also flourish. Therefore, Connolly sees deep pluralism as something positive rather than something negative. This opposition, pluralism as a positive or a negative, is a common question within the discussion of pluralism. The book *The New Pluralism – William Connolly and the Contemporary Global Condition* (Campbell & Schoolman, eds., 2008) was written as a reaction to Connolly's theories about pluralism and deep pluralism, and includes both critique of the theory and an interview with Connolly in which the authors are trying to deepen their understanding of the theory.

3.1 Religious pluralism

Many authors have written about religious pluralism from different angles. Some have approached it from a geographical point of view; what religious pluralism looks like in different parts of the world. Chiara Formichi discusses Asia in the book *Religious Pluralism, State and Society in Asia* (2014). In *Gods in America: Religious Pluralism in the United States* (Cohen & Numbers, eds., 2013) the situation in the United States of America is discussed. In *Testing Pluralism: Globalizing Belief, Localizing Gods* (Giordan & Swatos, eds., 2014) each chapter deals with a different place and situation.

Some authors approach the subject from a social or civic view. This is the case in inter alia Banchoff's works *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism* (2007) and *Religious Pluralism, Globalization, and World Politics* (2008), in Giordan and Pace's work *Religious Pluralism: Framing Religious Diversity in the Contemporary World* (2014), and Roof's work *Religious Pluralism and Civil Society* (2007). William Connolly's take on religious pluralism in *Pluralism* (2005) is also inspired

by the social sciences. He is a political theorist whose work largely has focused on politics and religion.

In *Religious Pluralism: A Metaphorical Approach* (1999), Chris Arthur puts forward both individual and social reactions on religious pluralism. He also writes about the subject in a metaphorical way, making the reader imagine how pluralism affects him- or herself. Another way to approach religious pluralism is by using different religions as examples. This is how Paul Heck (2009) did it in *Common Ground: Islam, Christianity, and Religious Pluralism.* Comparing different religions and meetings between adherents of them is one way of discussing religious pluralism.

Giuseppe Giordan problematizes the terms "diversity" and "pluralism" in the introduction of the book *Religious Pluralism: Framing Religious Diversity in the Contemporary World* (2014). He stresses the importance of defining pluralism with as much detail as possible. According to Giordan the term diversity is usually used descriptively, while pluralism is used normatively (Giordan, 2014, 1). Giordan also emphasizes on the term secularization in this context. For anyone to understand pluralism today, one must also understand secularization and what it means. One must understand what the religious landscape looks like today to be able to work with the term pluralism. Secularization, or to secularize, means to "dissociate or separate from religious or spiritual concerns" (en.oxforddictionaries.com, 2019). Religious phenomena today are characterized by creativity: by being modern and by being more vivid than one's traditional predecessors. This change in the religious landscape has also put the individual in the spotlight. The freedom of choice has received an important role in the religious game (Giordan, 2014, 2-5). According to Giordan, pluralism is more complex than just diversity of religions. It is statements of principle, ergo what people say about pluralism. It is also practice and what pluralism actually looks like in daily life. Principle and practise can be quite different from each other (Giordan, 2014, 10).

Later in the same book (2014), in a chapter called "Re-Thinking Religious Pluralism", author James A. Beckford discusses different forms of pluralism and what pluralism can mean. He stresses that, whenever used, the term pluralism has to be clearly defined. Beckford gives four examples of what pluralism can mean:

> (a) empirical forms of diversity in relation to religion
> (b) normative or ideological views about the positive value of religious diversity
> (c) the frameworks of public policy, law and social practices which accommodate, regulate and facilitate religious diversity.
> (d) relational contexts of everyday interactions between individuals and groups identified as religious (Beckford, 2014, 16)

Consequently, Beckford argues that there are many different definitions of pluralism. It can be political, it can be normative, it can be descriptive and it can be all of these at the same time. He mentions William Connolly and deep pluralism, saying that Connolly thinks that deep pluralism consists of both normative and descriptive pluralism. Beckford even argues that we should talk about "religious pluralisms" in plural, to emphasize the manifold forms of pluralism (Beckford, 2014, 16). Beckford concludes the chapter by making three points. The first point is to remember never to confuse the normative pluralism with the descriptive pluralism. The second point is that religious pluralism is part of a discussion on a much broader scene – in political, legal, and cultural discussions. The third point is that it is very important to conduct studies of the actual interactions between people or groups when studying pluralism (Beckford, 2014, 25-26).

The third chapter of *Religious Pluralism: Framing Religious Diversity in the Contemporary World* (2014), called "Religious Diversity, Social Control, and Legal Pluralism", which is written by James T. Richardson, is about how the legal systems in different countries deal with religious diversity or religious pluralism. There are many reasons behind the growing diversity in all countries, and no modern society can, according to Richardson, deny the diversity inside their borders anymore. The question is how societies respond to the growing plurality (Richardson, 2014, 31). Richardson puts forward a model showing how minority religions can operate in different societies, depending on how they are dealt with by the authorities. In this continuum, Richardson names three different types of legal social control over minority religions. To the left is the kind of religion that operates outside formal legal structure, but that operates with caution. In this case the authorities usually ignore the religious minority, and the minority has no legal status. In the middle of

the continuum there is the kind of religion that operates within legal structure. Depending on placement in hierarchy, the religion has different privileges. Religions operating outside legal structures, but that are accepted by the authorities, are found on the far right of the continuum. These religions conform to some legal limitations (Richardson, 2014, 32-33). Richardson's attempt to understand how societies deal with pluralism also focuses on history. To understand how minority religions are dealt with, one also has to understand the history of the societies in which the religions exist (Richardson, 2014, 34).

Thomas Banchoff discusses, in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism* (2007), like most other authors dealing with this issue, the importance of defining the term religious pluralism. Although, unlike many others, he also discusses the term religion and how different definitions of religion leads to different understandings of religious pluralism. Religious pluralism in its normative sense, says Banchoff, includes the notion of peace. Religious pluralism should aim to be peaceful, and all authors of this book also share this idea. The new religious pluralism, as Banchoff calls the modern form of religious pluralism, is about more than diversified demographics. It is also about more diverse individual beliefs, about perceptions of diversity, about more interaction among religious groups, and about minority protection and majority rule. Religious pluralism is, finally, more of an opportunity for democracy than it is a threat (Banchoff, 2007, 6-14).

3.1.1 Connolly's deep religious pluralism

I will now discuss deep religious pluralism, and how this differs from religious pluralism. William E. Connolly's vision of pluralism is that of a deep, multidimensional pluralism. He argues, in *Pluralism* (2005), that this deep pluralism is connected to decreased economical inequality, both in a definitional way and in a causal way. Since deep pluralism takes focus off of economical culture and places it on other cultural identities, deep pluralism decreases economical inequality by definition. The connection is also causal, since deep pluralism and economical equality each make the other possible. This deep pluralism is, according to Connolly,

a “thick network pluralism that exceeds both shallow, secular models of pluralism and the thick idea of the highly centered nation” (Connolly, 2005, 8).

But what is this multidimensional pluralism that Connolly talks about? First, he defines what he means by pluralism. Pluralism is not the same as cultural relativism; pluralists do not support the culture that is dominant in a particular place. Pluralists treasure diversity on many levels and deny culture and territorial politics as aligned (Connolly, 2005, 41). Then, Connolly argues that we need three things if we are to create a pluralism that works in the contemporary world, mainly in Europe and the United States. First, we need multidimensional pluralisation, second, we need positive development on knowledge of mystery in religions, and third, we need cultivation on practices within religions (Connolly, 2005, 61).

Multidimensional pluralism means that one does not only respect and honour diversity among religions and practises, but also applies this respect and honour to various parts of daily life. For example, this should be seen in gender practises, marriage arrangements, language, relationships, and household duties. If these displays of pluralism are applied to other parts of society, such as schools, the military, and politics, it will create opportunities for, and press on, religious communities to honour the diversity (Connolly, 2005, 61).

All religions should embed hospitality, openness and generosity into their practices, according to Connolly. This would help push down pressures within the religion to marginalize other religions, as well as show hospitality to other religions. This does not mean that a faithful would have to leave their faith at home when entering the public space, but rather it would open up to a generous society where many religious beliefs can live alongside each other. The deep pluralism that is pursued here is not self-evident, but needs the cultivation of each religion to engage and negotiate with others (Connolly, 2005, 64-65). Connolly again reminds the reader that deep pluralism is not the same as cultural relativism – even though negotiation, mutual adjustment, reciprocal folding in, and relational modesty are important virtues of both deep pluralism and cultural relativism. Deep pluralism challenges shallow interpretations of religious diversity, and politics in which pluralism is seen as an enemy (Connolly, 2005, 67).

Connolly also deals with pluralism and sovereignty in his book. Sovereignty is a complex concept when talking about pluralism since pluralism by definition focuses on the diversity in a society, and not on the sovereignty of it. When dealing with problems regarding sovereignty in today's world, many of the problems need cross-state attention and cross-state citizen movements. Connolly exemplifies with the Israel-Palestine conflict and how it would be possible to end it. Connolly thinks that the best way would be to instate one sovereign pluralistic state, but he also thinks that that would be impossible considering the situation. He thereby thinks that a two state solution would be best if we want to stop suffering and empower potential pluralism. But how can we manage that? Connolly argues that cross-state action is needed. He argues that outside forces must join activists in both Israel and Palestine, to press for a state of Palestine, to give equal resources to both areas, to give security to both areas and to press for equal citizenship for all minorities in both areas. Connolly believes that this may put press on inside institutions to do something, and finally help create two states, in which pluralism would be possible to pursue (Connolly, 2005, 154-158).

In an interview with Connolly conducted by David Campbell and Morton Schoolman, Connolly brings up three steps that are to be taken if one wants to be engaged in deep pluralism. The first step is to join the idea that a diversity of religions is good, with the notion that each of these religions has a deep affective intensity. The second step is to join these two ideas with the standpoint that none of these religions have enough good reasoning or evidence to, on their own, satisfy all sensible people. The third step that is needed is to overcome the resentment towards the pluralistic condition, which, according to Connolly, is very human. This resentment can lead to repressing people of other religions or philosophies (Campbell & Schoolman, 2008, 309).

3.1.2 Critique of religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism

On an academic level there is a lack of critique of the works on pluralism and forms of pluralism that I have described and discussed. The critique of religious pluralism

that exists is mostly aimed at the works of Paul Hick, a theologian who is known for his theories on pluralism; pluralism as something that resembles religious relativism. My foremost critique of the concept of religious pluralism is the lack of decisiveness among scholars as to what it refers to. Studying religious pluralism from a specific perspective is difficult because of the manifold definitions of the term. However, the authors in the fields of pluralism that I have chosen to read have been exceptionally clear when describing their take on and understanding of pluralism. This is imperative to do when conducting any kind of research regarding pluralism, and this is also why I discuss my understanding and adaptation of it in chapter 3.3.

Regarding deep pluralism, Campbell and Schoolman edited (2008) a book called *The New Pluralism,* in which the earlier mentioned interview with Connolly was included. This book consists of essays written by different authors, and all articles somehow relate to the works of Connolly. The book offers evaluations of Connolly's theories and includes perspectives for example on Connolly's development through time, on Connolly as a theorist of democracy, on the need of cross-state action in an already globalized world and on how Connolly's works have affected the academic arena. Last in this book comes the interview with Connolly, in which he explains some things left unclear in the essays, and in which he also expands his thoughts on deep pluralism.

I have no critique on Connolly's deep pluralism, but a point worth mentioning is that Connolly comes from the academic background of political science, and most of his works are written within that field. Democracy and pluralism are connected to religious questions, but Connolly is not mainly a scientist of religion but rather a political scientist. Connolly's work *Pluralism* is deeply influenced by political science and philosophy. His language is philosophical while the aims of his theories are political. The methods he uses to reach his goals are concerned with religion and religious matters, and that is why I find his work interesting for my study. I analyze my material in light of his concept of deep religious pluralism, and use it as a means of finding political and individual support for deep pluralism in the material.

3.2 Religious pluralism in Islam

There are different ways to look at religious pluralism in Islam. I will focus on two of them: different movements within Islam, and Islam and Muslims as part-takers in the global religious pluralism. An important point to make before starting the discussion on pluralism in Islam is that Islam is not a homogenous religious movement. There are many thoughts, beliefs and opinions fighting for the spotlight and the right to exist (Bagader, 1994, 114). The works I primarily base this chapter on are: *Islam, globalization and postmodernity,* edited by Ahmed S. Akbar and Donnan Hastings (1994), *Islam and Global Dialogue: Religious Pluralism and the Pursuit of Peace,* edited by Roger Boase (2005), and *Islam and Religious Diversity* edited by Lloyd Ridgeon (2012).

The modernization and westernization of Muslim society have resulted in many counter-movements within Islam. Groups that have emerged in response to these changes include: spiritualist groups that discern worldly matters, ritualistic groups that focus on Muslim appearance and social rules, revolutionary or radical groups that demand an immediate change in society, Muslim Brothers' groups that have found inspiration from the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Hassan Al-Banna, intellectual groups whose members mainly come from outside traditional Muslim leadership, and traditional leadership groups whose members usually are Muslim academics or other well-known personalities (Bagader, 1994, 118-120). The rise of these groups show that the Muslim society is changing and becoming more diverse. Although some groups and movements consistently try to impose their views on each other, there are still many divergent groups in Muslim society. This shows us that the pluralism in Islam is not temporary, but rather permanent (Bagader, 1994, 123).

Now, I am broadening the view and looking at Islam as a part of the global process of pluralisation and interfaith dialogue or religious dialogue. Religious dialogue may refer to various things, ranging from institutional dialogue to individual interactions. Nevertheless, religious dialogue is, in my opinion, a part of religious pluralism. The term religious dialogue comes from a Christian background, because of which Muslims today in general may still be sceptical whether the true meaning of dialogue

is really “bridge-building” or perhaps “evangelisation”. Dialogue with the West means dialogue with secularism, which is another reason for Muslims to be sceptical towards religious dialogue. Islam is also politically and economically weaker than the West; Western culture, and specifically Christianity, has nothing to lose when meeting Islam in political dialogue (Siddiqui, 2012, 168-170). These are three reasons why Muslims may mistrust religious dialogue.

Muslims living in Muslim-minority countries usually accept the country and its laws, and enjoy freedom of religion in return (Siddiqui, 2012, 181). Many Muslims live like this, in non-Muslim societies, and this can be seen as a sign of increased religious pluralism in Islam. In Muslim countries, where the majority population follows Sharia law, a similar acceptance of others can be seen. Many Sharia scholars think that non-Muslim minorities in Muslim countries should not be expected to follow Sharia (Siddiqui, 2012, 181-182). The clash between Islam and the West concerning questions of law, and therefore the separation of church and state, is one of the challenges found when talking about religious pluralism in Islam.

However, the challenges of pluralism in Islam are to some extent similar to the ones found within other religions. Some are afraid of pluralism because they mix pluralism with relativism. Some are sceptical towards pluralism because they see the world as polarized, black and white – instead of seeing all the grey nuances (Henzell-Thomas, 2005, 267-271). According to Henzell-Thomas, Muslims should go back to the Islamic beginnings and remember that Islam is built on scientific interest and curiosity (2005, 271).

Within Islam, it is possible to divide people into three categories. These are: Muslims, people of the book, and heathens. According to the Quran, both Jews and Christians are recognized as “people of the book”. They have a special status and Muslims accept many of the teachings in Judaism and Christianity. The reason for some Muslims’ hesitation toward interfaith dialogue with Jews and Christians is that Christians initiated the dialogue in a time when Christians were still associated with dominance and colonialism. Today, mainstream Muslim scholars believe that pluralism is natural, and accepted in the Quran (Esposito, 2007, 138-139). Some Muslims even recognize this pluralist notion as covering more than the children of

Abraham (Muslims, Christians, Jews) – it covers people of all religions (Esposito, 2007, 144).

Although the third group is heathens, the Quran and the hadith give no reason for Muslims to persecute or punish these people. According to Kadivar, on earth, there is freedom of religion and belief, and the punishment is not decided until the end of times (2012, 199). Freedom of religion in this context refers to the right to choose any religion and to practise it. Freedom of belief refers to the right to choose and adhere to any idea and thought, as long as it does not disrupt the order and peace in society (Kadivar, 2012, 201).

In other words, the sacred texts of Islam give no reason for Muslims not to accept full freedom of religion and freedom of belief. However, as stated before, this is not always the reality. Popular and traditional interpretations of Islam seldom show a clear wish for dialogue with other religions, which would be one way through which Muslims could display freedom of religion and belief. Some more unusual interpretations of Islam promote freedom of religion and belief. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, there is a pluralism of interpretations within the realm of Islam. The most correct interpretation, according to Mohsen Kadivar, is one that argues for freedom of religion and belief, and also for religious dialogue. This, he finds, is what the Quran says. All Muslims should let non-Muslims live in peace, as long as they do not try to start a conflict with Islam (Kadivar, 2012, 200, 220).

3.3 Religious pluralism in this thesis

Chapter 3 has focused on religious pluralism, deep religious pluralism, and pluralism in Islam. When talking about religious pluralism, there are a few definitional aspects that need to be addressed before starting the discussion. First of all, what does religious pluralism refer to? All authors that I looked into had different opinions on this matter. Pluralism could, depending on author and context, mean the same thing as religious diversity in a particular place. It could also mean the political question of diversity, hereby charging the term with value – is it something positive or something negative? It could mean, like Hauerwas (2007) puts it, diversity seen from

a specific religious tradition. Moreover, it could mean that all religions are different ways to reach the same goal, it could refer to a moral dilemma, it could refer to a normative notion of diversity, it could refer to the interactions between people of different religions or it could include the notion of peace or of tolerance. Furthermore, the definition of religious pluralism changes depending on how one defines religion. My definition of religion was described in chapter 2. Giuseppe Giordan (2014) discusses pluralism in light of secularization. He says that no one can understand pluralism if they fail to understand secularization and its impact on the contemporary world.

William E. Connolly has a clear positioning regarding pluralism – it is something positive and it is something we should aim for. Deep pluralism goes deeper than pluralism. It makes societies and people put their own identity and culture at risk, it makes them re-examine their existence and their right to exist, and it makes them open and generous towards new cultures, religions and traditions. Societies characterized by deep pluralism have economical equality, politics and legal systems that are religiously noncommittal, and a democratic culture. Connolly's ideal; a deeply, multidimensional pluralistic world, is something of a utopia. That being said, Connolly gives some compelling arguments for how this could be actualized, and even more, for why this should be actualized.

Pluralism in Islam refers both to the pluralism that is found within the religion, and to the part global pluralism plays in Islam. Since Muslim society has met with Western society, Islam has become much more diverse. Different interpretations of the religion could be found before this, but since the start of the westernization of Muslim societies there has arisen a manifold of, often conflicting, groups. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that Islam as a whole has a uniform opinion on pluralism.

Muslims have traditionally looked at people from other religions as either people of the book (Christians and Jews) or heathens. Today, however, Muslim scholars advocate a more tolerant relationship with other people. The Quran states, according to Mohsen Kadivar, that all people have the right to choose their religion as well as practise it, as long as they do not start a quarrel with Muslims or Islam. Kadivar promotes a curiosity for others among Muslims. The challenges of pluralism in Islam

are for instance the different views on society and law within Muslim tradition and Western tradition, and the scare of mixing pluralism with relativism and consequently belittle Islam.

As stated in the introduction to the thesis, the way I use pluralism in this thesis falls within the framework of pluralism as religious diversity empirically described, as the acceptance of religious diversity, and as the moral and political value of diversity. My understanding of pluralism is partly empirically descriptive and partly normative. My understanding of deep pluralism, in turn, is normative, since the term in itself refers to a set of political and societal values aiming at a deeply pluralistic society. At the same time, it is also descriptive since it is not only an idea or ideology – it is a way of life that Connolly promotes. Connolly talks about deep pluralism existent or non-existent on a societal or political level. However, I stretch the understanding of deep pluralism making it applicable on an individual level. I use deep pluralism as something that an individual can show or relate to, rather than something that is a political, institutional or a societal matter.

The ways that I use pluralism is by 1) studying the religious diversity present in the respondents' lives (empirically descriptive) and 2) studying the pluralist attitudes and opinions of the respondents (normative). However, it is relevant to remember that descriptive pluralism may also be a sign of normative pluralism connected to values and acceptance. This is because the respondents in this case have chosen to associate with religiously diverse people – a choice they have made based on values and morals. With this approach, the empirical and the normative understandings of pluralism are intertwined and affecting each other. That is why I have chosen to refer to pluralism in such a broad sense. I include both inter-religious pluralism and intra-religious pluralism, meaning that I study both the kind of pluralism that exists between religions and the kind of pluralism that exists within Islam as a religion. The differences in religiosity and beliefs on an individual level can be as large among Muslims as they are between people from different religions.

There is much research done on religious pluralism, and especially on the political and societal part of pluralism. On the contrary, not much research has been done on pluralism on an individual level. How does a person from specific groups of people

relate to pluralism and deep pluralism? That is what this thesis is going to focus on – the individual Muslim university students in Israel. I study my material and search for tendencies towards pluralism. How is a pluralist mindset, or perhaps the opposite, showcased in the YARG Israeli Muslim material?

4 Material and methods

All material I use in this thesis is material collected within the research project *Young adults and religion in a global perspective: A cross-cultural, comparative and mixed-method study of religious subjectivities and values in their context.* Here on after, I will refer to it as YARG. YARG is an international research project led by professor Peter Nynäs at Åbo Akademi University. The project started in 2015, and was conducted in thirteen countries: Canada, China, Finland, Ghana, India, Israel, Japan, Peru, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Turkey and the USA. 300-400 people in each country answered a survey that included a so-called Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ), which was the first part of the study and made up one method of collecting data. The PVQ is the last part of a survey including questions about the respondent's current life situation, social life, sources for news and information, views and convictions, as well as wellbeing and happiness. The PVQ includes questions related to personality, social life, and religiosity and spirituality. The PVQ is important to the selection process for the second part of the study, since the PVQ guarantees a variation in the sample. The second part is called Faith Q-Sort (FQS) and this was done in connection with semi-structured thematic interviews. I discuss the FQS-method in chapter 4.1. In each country 20–45 people participated in this part of the study. In Japan, only the surveys including the PVQs, were done.

The material I use in this thesis is material from the second part of the study. The material consists of two parts, different in method, but connected as the respondents are the same in both. The first part is the Faith Q-sort, and the second part is the semi-structured interviews. All material I use is collected in Israel, from the Muslim community.

The sample used in my study is in some ways quite homogenous, which needs to be addressed. Although YARG refers to young adults and religion, not all young Muslim adults in Israel have had the chance to participate in the study. All participants attend or have attended university, which means that they are higher educated than many young adults. This may influence the results of the study. Apart from this, the sample is quite heterogeneous; it consists of both women and men and

the participants come from different backgrounds when looking at religious belonging within the Muslim religion.

In chapter 4.1 and 4.2 I go through the material that I use more thoroughly, describe the processes behind the material, describe the content of the material, and describe how I use it in this thesis. In these chapters I also explain how I categorize the material for the analysis.

4.1 Faith Q-sort

The Faith Q-Sort (FQS) instrument is developed by professor David Wulff and is used to measure individual religiosity, as well as a person's viewpoints, opinions, attitudes and beliefs. This instrument is developed for small groups and samples. It is currently the only way of measuring religiosity based on Q-methodology. Q-methodology is originally developed by William Stephenson and is not like traditional questionnaires; he developed it to be used specifically on smaller samples. It is not a quantitative method, but rather a qualitative procedure that involves some quantitative aspects (Nynäs, et al., 2019). Q-methodology has been used in studying phenomena ranging from politics to educational settings (Nynäs, et al., 2019). A few scholars have used FQS in studying religiosities, including David Wulff's (2019) pilot study in the United States, as well as Terho (2013), Pennanen (2013) Lassander and Nynäs (2016), and Kontala (2016). These studies have shown that FQS can be useful when studying personal religiosity (Nynäs, et al., 2019).

The FQS is a way of using Q-methodology for studying religiosity and faith. It has been developed to capture religiosities in a broad sense of the word, and also to avoid a Christian bias and make it more including for all religious adherents. The aim with FQS is to allow for personal nuances, complexity, and self-definitions as well as subjective viewpoints. This encourages flexibility, and highlights the increasing mixing of ideas and practises (Nynäs, et al., 2019). This also shows the increasing religious diversity, which is relevant for my study.

In Q-methodology the respondent is confronted with many viewpoints in the form of 101 statements (appendix A), and the task is to rank these viewpoints or statements from most descriptive to least descriptive. Some examples of statements in the FQS are: statement number 1, “Gives substantial amounts of time or money to some religious organization or worthy cause”, statement number 28, “Does not view him or herself as religious, but believes in some way”, or statement number 54, “Thinks that men and women are by nature intended for different roles”. Typically, there are nine categories into which the statements are to be sorted (image 1); most statements are to be placed in the middle categories, while only a few are placed in the extremes. This means that the statements are dependent on each other; when the respondent ranks one statement it will affect the placement of another statement (Nynäs, et al., 2019).

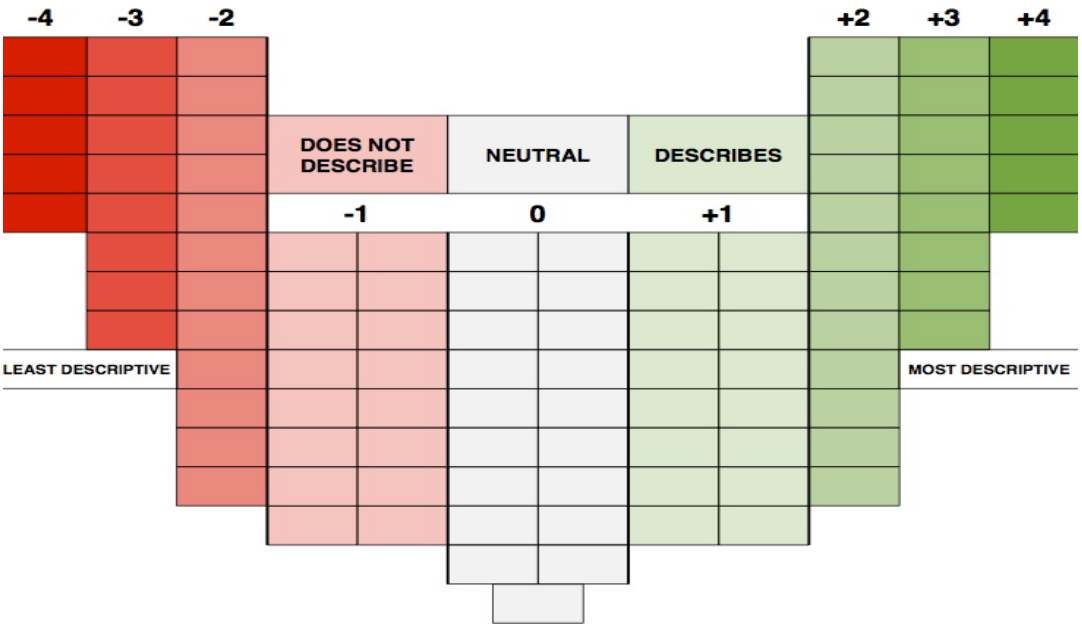

Image 1: The FQS-layout

The 101 statements that make up the FQS are different in character, meaning that they are developed to include aspects from all major religions, as well as aspects from psychology of religion. They include statements about religious texts and practices, about divinity and they also make room for non-religious or pluralist views. All statements are, as mentioned before, written in a way that is as general as possible. Instead of naming phenomena from specific religions, the statements use

general terms. This makes it possible to compare FQSs done in different parts of the world (Nynäs, et al., 2019).

Q-methodology wishes not to make generalizations to populations, but rather to detect patterns of religiosity. This means that there is no need for a big sample of respondents. The perk of using a ready-made set of statements instead of, for example, an interview, is that the answers from the FQS can be analyzed in a quantitative manner and therefore is it possible to derive so-called prototypes from the data. The exact description of how the analysis is done is found in Kontala's (2016) work. A software program called PQMethod is used for the statistical analyses. It factor-analyzes the Centroid or Principal Components Analysis method with analyses of inter-correlations between Q-Sorts. The computer-generated result comes with tables on factor loadings, as well as both discriminating statements and consensus statements for the prototypes. The researcher then studies this result, and defines and describes the final prototypes (Nynäs, et al., 2019). From the Muslim sample in Israel four prototypes emerged, I discuss these in chapters: 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 4.1.3, and 4.1.4.

The researcher writes the descriptions of and labels for the prototypes. The researcher studies the prototype characteristics both independently and in correlation to the others. Some characteristics are mutual for the prototypes (consensus statements, appendix B), while some are distinguishing for each prototype (distinguishing statements, appendix C). In my material, the presentation of the prototypes is done in a so-called "commentary style interpretation". This means that the researcher has written a narrative based on statements that are ranked high and low and on distinguishing statements for the prototypes (Nynäs, et al., 2019). I use parts of these presentations when I describe the YARG prototypes. I also look at the prototypes' defining statements (appendix C), which are a selection of statements that include both distinguishing and consensus statements and that somehow define the prototypes.

The reliability of FQS or Q-method is of a qualitative nature. The aim is not to make generalizations, but rather to detect new subjectivities that can later be studied in quantitative research. The aim is not either to find the same prototypes in all samples,

but rather to find new and emerging prototypes in all samples. In the YARG project the FQS is also done in relation with a semi-structured interview, in which both the researcher and the respondent have the opportunity to further discuss or ask about the sorting in the FQS. In YARG, there is also the survey (including the PVQ) that constitutes the first part of the study. This means that the project uses mixed-method research to further deepen the understanding of the respondents. Around 300-400 people in each country, as stated before, filled out the surveys. This gave the researches a big enough sample to choose from when picking respondents for the FQS and interviews. It enabled them to create a broad sample when looking at respondents' background, genders, et al. (Nynäs, et al., 2019).

There is some critique applicable on FQS and Q-method. First of all, it is difficult to make sure that the statements are written in such a way that all people feel like the statements are relatable. Some statements may also become too general for some people to relate to them. Everyone interprets the statements individually, which is a problem that is impossible to bypass. Instead, the follow-up interviews that are done after the sorting are an opportunity to discuss the interpretations of the statements, and by that also minimizing the problem. The statements have been translated into the respondents' language, in my case Arabic, using the double and back-translation process. Depending on language, the statements may have a slightly different meaning, but using this method of translating them there is as little fault as possible (Nynäs, et al., 2019). Some of the eight respondents that I study had trouble understanding some of the 101 FQS statements. The reason for this was in some cases the Arabic language, and in some cases that the respondents thought that the statements did not represent them or their worldviews. This is important to remember when evaluating the credibility of the results of my study.

Another critique towards FQS is the sorting process itself. There are only a specific amount of statements available for the respondent to choose from. This means that not all of their opinions or views may be shown in the FQS (Nynäs, et al., 2019). The ready-made layout for the statements, with only so many spots for each number, is another constraint that perhaps makes it difficult for the respondent to place the cards exactly where they want it.

The suggested labels of the prototypes that the researcher creates, is another delicate part of the methodology. As with any headline or abstract, there is a possibility of leaving important parts out or simplifying something too much. I have chosen to mention the labels of the four prototypes that come up in my material, but they are to be seen only as guideposts, and not as complete short forms of the prototypes.

The actual process of the FQS is done with the respondent face-to-face with the researcher. This means that the respondent is able to ask the researcher if there are statements that the respondent finds difficult or incomprehensive (Nynäs, et al., 2019). In my case the researcher was Sawsan Kheir, who is a Joint Program PhD candidate at the University of Haifa and at Åbo Akademi University (http://magazine.haifa.ac.il), and a researcher within YARG. The sorting process is also part of the transcript of the interview, which can be relevant in case there has been a discussion between the researcher and the respondent during the sorting. The sorting process starts with the respondent categorizing the statements (that are usually written on separate cards) into three piles: the positive, the neutral, and the negative statements. This part of the process shows whether the respondent finds it hard to relate to the statements, which would mean that the negative pile is bigger than the positive pile, or if it is the other way around. The respondent then starts placing the cards, starting from the positives, onto the layout that has nine numbered columns on it (Image 1). The columns range from +4 to -4, with only five spots for the extremes, but increasing to 19 spots for zero (neutral) (Nynäs, et al., 2019).

The Faith Q-Sort is, as mentioned before, the second part of the data collecting process in YARG. It has been done in connection with semi-structured thematic interviews. 22 Muslims in Israel did the FQS and the interviews. I deal with the FQS in two ways in this thesis:

1) The data has been analyzed and four YARG-prototypes have been extracted from it. The prototypes can be seen as fictional persons or subjectivities that are “typical” people from this sample. I use the prototypes as a way of categorizing the respondents. I choose the two people who scored highest on each prototype, and look into their interviews. A high score on a respondent’s answers in correlation with a prototype does not mean that the respondent equals the prototype. It means that the

respondent bears some resemblance in views with the fictional prototype. I discuss these prototypes in chapters: 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 4.1.3, and 4.1.4.
2) I look at some of the statements included in the FQS that in my opinion have to do with religious pluralism, and study how each prototype would sort these statements. I also look at how the respondents sorted the statements. I discuss these statements and their importance in chapter 4.1.5.

4.1.1 Prototype one

Prototype one's suggested label is "Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer" (YARG, internal document, 2017, 82) and in my material there are six respondents whose answers in the FQS indicate a somewhat strong correlation with this prototype. The two respondents that I study more thoroughly scored 0.7670 and 0.7523 out of 1.0000; 1.0000 would be the exact prototype. There is another respondent who scored 0.7535, but whose interview lacks an English translation so I am not able to read it. This means that the chosen second respondent's score is not the second closest to the prototype, but the third.

Prototype one has a strong belief in sacred texts, and besides the texts this prototype also has a strong belief in the divine. A distinguishing statement for this prototype is that they long "for a deeper, more confident faith" (statement number 8), which is ranked +4. Religion is part of all aspects of prototype one's life, and this prototype also find it important to observe religious rules. Prototype one is the only prototype that sorts the statement supporting "individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality" (statement number 100) on the negative side, at -1. Another distinguishing statement for prototype one is "mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook" (statement number 76), which is ranked +2, when all other prototypes have ranked it below zero (YARG, internal document, 2017, 82-83).

4.1.2 Prototype two

Prototype two's suggested label is "Institutionally Unattached Universalist" (YARG, internal document, 2017, 84) and in my material there are two respondents whose answers in the FQS indicate a somewhat strong correlation with this prototype. The two respondents that I study more thoroughly scored 0.8715 and 0.6943 out of 1.0000 (prototype two).

Prototype two strongly disagrees with the statement "feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook" (statement number 47), ranked -4. Prototype two shows a strong belief in a personal God, but their relationship with the divine is not connected with situations when they need help. Organized religion is not an important part of their lives, but they find it important to give money or time to a religious organization or worthy cause. Prototype two "believes one can be deeply moral without being religious" (statement number 83), ranked +4, and "supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality" (statement number 100), ranked +3, higher than all other prototypes. Another distinguishing statement for prototype two is "feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation" (statement number 46), which is ranked -1. Prototype two is the only prototype that disassociates from this statement (YARG, internal document, 2017, 84-85).

4.1.3 Prototype three

Prototype three's suggested label is "Religiously Uninterested but Culturally Committed" (YARG, internal document, 2017, 86) and in my material there are two respondents whose answers in the FQS indicate a somewhat strong correlation with this prototype. The two respondents that I study more thoroughly scored 0.6757 and 0.5922 out of 1.0000 (prototype three), which is further from the prototype than the other respondents scored from their respective prototypes.

Prototype three believes in some way, but does not view him or herself as religious. Prototype three feels distant from the divine and believes that "one can be deeply moral without being religious" (statement number 83), ranked +4. Religion and being

religious is not central in prototype three's life, and they disagree with the statement "feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook" (statement number 47), which prototype three rank -4. A certain lack of interest in religion is central to prototype three's identity. Prototype three "feels guilty for not living up to [their] ideals" (statement number 5), which they rank higher than the other prototypes (YARG, internal document, 2017, 86-87).

4.1.4 Prototype four

Prototype four's suggested label is "Experientially Inclined Committed Believer" (YARG, internal document, 2017, 88) and in my material there are four respondents whose answers in the FQS indicate a somewhat strong correlation with this prototype. The two respondents that I have chosen to study more thoroughly scored 0.7228 and 0.6781 out of 1.0000 (prototype four).

Prototype four believes in God and has a positive view of the world. They hold a religious worldview, and they feel "a sense of peace even in the face of life's difficulties" (statement number 75), ranked +4. Like the other prototypes, prototype four disagrees with the statement "feels uncomfortable or fearful in turning to the divine" (statement number 39), but their religiousness becomes stronger in times of need. Prototype four expresses their "religion primarily in charitable acts or social action" (statement number 27) (YARG, internal document, 2017, 88-89).

4.1.5 FQS and pluralism

The FQS statements that I find interesting in relation to my study, and that somehow deal with pluralism, are listed below:

Statement number 4: "Thinks that the world's religious traditions point to a common truth". This statement is not defining for any of the prototypes, nor is it a consensus statement for the Muslim sample in Israel. However, it has to do with pluralism so it may be interesting in terms of the respondents' choices sorting this statement.

Agreeing with this statement could also be interpreted as religious relativism, since it promotes and focuses on the similarities of religions and not on the differences. All prototypes rank this statement positively, prototype one and three rank it +1, prototype two at +2, and prototype four at +3. This means that none of the four emerged prototypes in the Israeli Muslim sample disagree with this statement, but prototype one and three may think it is insignificant. Prototype two and four agree with this statement quite strongly, which is interesting when analyzing the prototypes further.

Statement number 25: "Feels contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practises". This statement deals with pluralism in a negative manner, since feeling contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practises displays a negative outlook on religion as a whole. It is not defining for any of the prototypes, but it is a consensus statement for the Muslim sample in Israel. The prototypes' sorting of this statement is -3 for prototype one, -1 for prototype two, -1 for prototype three, and -3 for prototype four. This means that none of the prototypes consider this statement echoing their views. Prototype one and four strongly disagree with this.

Statement number 29: "Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions". This statement is not defining for any of the prototypes, nor is it a consensus statement for the Muslim sample in Israel. This inclination, however, is a plausible interpretation of religious pluralism, so it is interesting in regards to this study. This statement could also be seen as religious relativism and not pluralism, so the statement has at least two possible interpretations. Prototype one and four mildly disagree with this statement or find it irrelevant, ranking it -1. Prototype two ranks it +3 and prototype three +2, which means that prototype two and three probably embrace elements from other religions than their own.

Statement number 46: "Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation". This statement is only defining for prototype two, who sorts the statement at -1. This statement is interesting in the context of Israel, since the state of Israel per definition is Jewish. It is possible that the respondents have interpreted "nation" as the Muslim community, "Umma", in which case the respondents do not refer to Israel in their sorts. However, this does not come up in the interviews so it is

impossible to be certain about how they have interpreted it. Prototypes one, three and four rank this statement +2, +3, and +2.

Statement number 47: “Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook”. This statement is defining for prototype two and three, and both of these prototypes sort it at -4, which means that they feel the opposite of this/ not at all like this. Prototype one ranks this 0, and prototype four +1.

Statement number 76: “Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook”. This statement deals with real life interactions and social life, if the respondents interpret “associate” as something you do. If the respondents interpret “associate” as how they identify, it has more to do with views and opinions. It is defining for prototype one, at +2. Prototype two and three rank it -3, prototype four ranks it -1.

Statement number 81: “Is positively engaged by or interested in other peoples’ religious traditions”. This statement is not defining for any of the prototypes, but it is a consensus statement for the Muslim sample in Israel. The prototypes’ sorting of this statement is 0 for prototype one, +1 for prototype two, +1 for prototype three, and 0 for prototype four. This means that all prototypes feel quite indifferent towards this statement, yet somewhat positive (prototype two and three).

Statement number 83: “Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious”. This is a defining statement for prototypes two and three, who sort it at +4. This means that prototypes two and three strongly agree with this statement. Prototype one ranks it 0 and prototype four ranks it +1. These two prototypes seem to feel indifferent about this.

Statement number 100: “Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality”. This statement is defining for prototype one and two. Prototype one sorts it at -1, while prototype two sorts it at +3. This means that prototype one disagrees mildly, and prototype two agrees quite strongly. Prototype three and four rank this statement +1, meaning that they agree to some extent.

4.2 Interviews

Using interview as a method calls for some methodological questions to be answered. I specifically discuss three themes: ethics, quality of the study, and analysis.

Ethics is an important part of an interview study. The participants' anonymity needs to be ensured, and the participants also need to agree to the use of the interviews (Dalen, 2015, 24-30). I will ensure the anonymity of the interviewees by only referring to them by gender and age, and conformity to prototype. I will not use any names that come up in the interviews. I will mention names of places only in special cases, such as the place being so large that mentioning it does nothing to harm the anonymity of the respondent.

The quality of the study must be critically examined and ensured. There are a few concerns that I want to discuss, that have to do with the study and its quality control. First of all, in a qualitative study like this, there are no absolute truths. All results are dependent on the situation in which the interview takes place, the interviewee and his or her background, and the social and societal context in which the interview is put (Dalen, 2015, 113). That being said, I still have to interpret the things that the interviewees say. These interpretations, and the methods I use to make them, should be valid.

When doing an interview study the researcher has to be thoughtful of the interpretations he or she makes when theorizing the data. There are three common mistakes that researchers make in this phase. The first mistake is that the researcher misses variances in the data because he or she has knowledge in the field from before and therefore interprets the data with faulty preconceptions. The second mistake is that the researcher puts too much focus on some informants and undervaluing others, because he or she for some reason has come to the conclusion that some are key informants, more important than others. The third mistake is referred to as "going native" and means that the researcher becomes so involved in his or her field that he or she starts missing important features or characteristics in the data. If this happens,

the researcher should take a break and get some distance before continuing the study (Dalen, 2015, 113-124). In this thesis, I avoid making these mistakes by learning about them beforehand and thus being aware of the risks that they pose.

The YARG interviews are semi-structured, which means that the interviewer has followed guidelines through the interview, but at the same time kept the interview going as a natural conversation and let the interviewee lead the conversation in some instances. All YARG interviews follow a similar pattern, guided by common instructions and a common interview structure. There are three general themes that structure the interviews, and within each of these themes there are four topics that the interviewer should pay attention to. The three themes are: the interviewees' thoughts on the FQS and own personal engagement with religion or spirituality, the interviewees' personal history and current situation, and the interviewees' thoughts on social and cultural contexts in which they are involved. Within each of these themes, the interviewer further focuses on four topics: changing modes of socialization in the interviewees' lives, the interviewees' and social movements, the interviewees' and media or social media environments, and the interviewees' thoughts on consumerism (YARG, internal document, 2015, 1-8).

The YARG interview structure is clearly visible in the interviews with the Muslim sample in Israel, but each interview is also distinct from the other interviews. This is a consequence of the freedom that the interviewer has to also talk about things that seem important to the interviewees. However, all three themes in the YARG interview structure are helpful to my study as they encourage discussions that are connected to religious pluralism. This is shown in chapter 5 when I analyze the material.

There are 17 translated and transcribed interviews all in all from the YARG Muslim sample in Israel, and they were all carried out in the year 2016 and conducted by Sawsan Kheir. 22 interviews were originally done, but only 17 of these have been translated into English. This means that I cannot read all interviews, and this may influence the outcome of the study. All interviews were done at the University of Haifa, in Haifa, Israel. The interviews were originally done in Arabic, with some comments in Hebrew and English. Kheir has transcribed them, and translated them

into English. Two other people translated two of the interviews: Rami Bsheir and Ghada Simaan. I only study the English transcriptions of the interviews, which means that some information may have been lost in the translation process. Some information may also be lost because I was not participating in the interviews, which means that I did not see facial expressions, gestures or other sorts of personal expressions. This limits my capacity of analyzing the material, but I believe that the method I am using is sufficient for my research.

In chapter 5, I study eight of the follow-up interviews that were done in connection to the FQS. I study eight of the respondents who scored highly on the prototypes. I use the same respondents as I use when studying the FQS. In the analyzing process I use a computer program called *NVivo 12*. This program helps me go through, organize, and categorize the material. I go through the interviews in the program, and every time I find something interesting I copy that part of the interview and put it in a specific file, categorized according to prototype that the interviewee correlates with, and suiting the subject of the interview section. This leaves me with categorized files, where I can find the most interesting themes from the interviews, and where I can compare and interpret the different interviewees', and also the prototypes', looks on these themes.

The language in the interviews is sometimes tiresome to read. The sentences are not always whole, and the way the respondents express themselves in Arabic, and sometimes Hebrew, is different from how one would express oneself in English. However, Kheir has often put footnotes in the text, explaining Arabic phrases and expressions. This makes reading the interviews easier. Another thing that complicates the reading process is that there are spelling errors in the English translations. Sometimes the errors make the meaning of the sentences completely different. I have decided to trust my instincts and understand the sentences in a way that, to me, would make sense in the context.

I have made some changes to the quotes from the interviews that I use in chapter 5. Some spelling errors are corrected, and also some language errors. However, I have left some errors to showcase that it is not always easy to interpret what the respondents are saying. I have also left out stutters, as well as names of people,

places and companies. I have only left names of places if it has nothing to do with the respondent or if the place is big enough for the respondent to be able to be anonymous. In case the respondents have stopped talking in the middle of a word, but the interviewer (who has transcribed the interviews) has guessed what word the respondent was about to say, I have left only the guessed word. Other signs and symbols in the quotes are as follows:

I: Interviewer (Sawsan Kheir)

1A/ 1B/ 2A/ 2B/ 3A/ 3B/ 4A/ 4B: The respondent

[[]] = Said together at the same time

{ }** = Originally said in Hebrew

{ }*** = Originally said in English

-- = Pauses or restarts in a sentence

--- = Interruption in the middle of the sentence by the other side of the conversation

{LG} = Laughs

(…) = Left out a part of the reply/ conversation

(( )) with text inside the parentheses = The audio tape was unclear, but the interviewer guessed what was said

(( )) without text inside the parentheses = The audio tape was so unclear that the interviewer was not able to guess what was said

In the following chapters (4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3, and 4.2.4), I shortly describe the interviews and the interviewees. I call the respondents: 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B, 3A, 3B, 4A and 4B. The numbers in the labels correlate with the prototypes that the respondents score close to in the FQS. The letters identify which respondent is which. The letter A refers to the respondent who scored closer to the prototype, while B refers to the other respondent. I have chosen not to give fictional names to the respondents since my knowledge of Israeli Muslim name culture is not vast enough for that. I want to be sure that the respondents' fictional names give no false or incorrect associations to the reader.

4.2.1 Respondent 1A and 1B

Respondents 1A and 1B are two out of six people in the Israeli Muslim sample who scored highly on prototype one, also called "Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer". Respondent 1A is male, 22 years old, comes from a large Muslim city in Israel. The city is, according to the interviewer Sawsan Kheir, considered to be a conservative city. At the time of the interview the respondent lives in a Druze village, and it is his third year of studies. During the interview, the respondent at some points used uncommon Arabic words that are related to the Quran, implying that he reads the Quran.

Respondent 1B is a young female, from a Muslim village in the north of Israel. She is dressed very conservatively, with a long dress and a tight head cover. It is her second year of studies.

Respondent 1A and 1B both talk about religion, and how you are supposed to live and behave according to religion. They also talk a lot about who inspire them, and to whom they turn for religious advice. Mainly, they refer to family and religious leaders, such as Sheikhs. They also talk about politics, for example about a movement called Iqra'a, which is a students' cell of a movement called The Islamic Movement. Both Iqra'a and The Islamic Movement were banned in Israel in 2015 because they were accused of radicalism and anti-Israeli thoughts.

4.2.2 Respondent 2A and 2B

Respondents 2A and 2B are the only two people in the Israeli Muslim sample who scored highly on prototype two, the "Institutionally Unattached Universalist"-prototype. Respondent 2A is 23 years old, female, and from a mixed Christian-Muslim town in Israel. She is, at the time of the interview, a fourth year student. During her studies she has moved around, and lived both in a Druze village, in her hometown, and in Haifa. The respondent is dressed in a modern manner, not in a way that would be considered modest in her community. Rami Bsheir has translated this

interview, as opposed to the other interviews that I study, which Sawsan Kheir has translated. Kheir has reviewed the translation of this interview.

Respondent 2B is female, 25 years old, and has recently before the interview finished her studies. She has a Bedouin background, and is not dressed modestly according to Muslim traditions. Respondent 2B has studied at another college than University of Haifa. Because of this respondent's Bedouin background, the interview also focuses on that heritage and what it means to her and in her life.

Both respondent 2A and 2B claim not to have a religious background, and they talk about religious Muslims in, according to me, a slightly negative way. During their interviews, they both talk about their lives and what has happened during them.

4.2.3 Respondent 3A and 3B

Respondents 3A and 3B are the only two respondents in the Israeli Muslim sample who scored close to prototype three, who is "Religiously Uninterested but Culturally Committed". Respondent 3A is a 19-year-old male, a first year student, living in a Druze village close to Haifa. His home village is Muslim. He is dressed secularly to the interview. During his interview, he talks a lot about his mother and about how he lives his life only according to his own wants and needs.

Respondent 3B is female, 22 years old, and a second year student. She lives in Haifa and is also brought up there. Her grandmother was born a Polish Jew. This means that her looks do not imply that she is an Arab, but could rather easily be mistaken for a Jew. Her name is also a common Jewish name, although it also has a meaning in Arabic. Her upbringing has been quite religiously diverse; she has for example gone to a Christian school.

Both respondent 3A and 3B describe themselves as not being religious. Respondent 3A says that he has little knowledge in religious matters, while respondent 3B says that she knows things about religion but rather does not care. They talk about their families, and they have friends from many religious backgrounds.

4.2.4 Respondent 4A and 4B

Respondents 4A and 4B are two out of four people in the Israeli Muslim sample who scored close to the fourth prototype, labelled "Experientially Inclined Committed Believer". Respondent 4A is male, with a Bedouin background. He was brought up in a Bedouin village, and now he studies in Haifa. Before he started studying in Haifa, he worked for some years and also went to the army (IDF = Israeli Defense Forces). The respondent talks about himself and his successes in life most of the interview.

Respondent 4B is a 22-year-old female who studies in Haifa at the time of the interview. She lives in a mixed village. She dresses in a modern, not modest, manner, and works in a clothing store in a Jewish city. The respondent talks about her life and what she has been through for most of the interview.

Both respondent 4A and 4B did sometimes not understand the Arabic FQS cards, and the interviewer had to translate them into Hebrew for the respondents to understand. Neither of them mentioned religious matters a lot, nor did they mention people from other religions considerably. They both focused on their own lives and progresses in life.

5 Analysis

I have thus far in this thesis discussed the aim of the thesis, the background, the theoretical framework and the material and methods of the thesis. In this chapter, I connect all these pieces and analyze the material in light of the theoretical framework, as well as of the background and contexts. The main goal of this chapter is to find answers to my research questions, to study the four main prototypes found in the Muslim sample in Israel, and to see I can find indications of pluralism in the prototypes' views.

This chapter is divided into five subchapters. The first four subchapters deal with the prototypes, one chapter for each of the four prototypes. In the beginning of these chapters I go through the main finds concerning pluralism in the FQS for each prototype. In the fifth subchapter I discuss the findings and the results. Chapter 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4, which all deal with the prototypes, are further divided into subchapters. These subchapters (5.1.1, 5.1.2, etcetera) are thematic. In these chapters I discuss the main themes about pluralism that have come up in the interview-parts of the material. I also discuss these finds in comparison to and in light of the FQS sorts of the prototypes.

I have discovered three themes that are related to pluralism and deep pluralism and that consistently come up in most of the interviews. These themes make up the subchapters 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and so on. Some interviews lack some of the themes, but the three themes are still consistent enough to be relevant for this thesis. Since this is a qualitative study I do not expect all respondents to answer identically, but I rather appreciate the differences and study all respondents as individuals. The themes are:

1. The respondents talking about other religions or friends and acquaintances from other religions. This is relevant in regards to pluralism since it one the one hand shows whether the respondents are at all associated with people from other religions, and on the other hand shows what opinions the respondents have concerning other religions and people from other religions.
2. The respondents talking about Islam and other Muslims, and in this case often Muslims with another kind of religiosity than the respondents themselves. This theme is important when studying pluralism, since Islam is, and

Muslims are, very diverse and they lead different lives. There is such a diversity within Islam that one could argue that pluralism within Islam (intra-religious) is as interesting and challenging as pluralism of more than one religion (inter-religious).

3. The respondents talking about politics that somehow concern pluralism. Pluralism and politics are connected since politics can regulate and affect the diversity and the pluralism in a society. What sort of politics a person supports is often an indication of what that person thinks of pluralism and religious diversity.

A fourth theme that comes up in the interviews is the respondents' parents and their religious background. This theme is, however, heavily intertwined with the three previous themes, so I have chosen to discuss it in connection with the other themes to the extent that it comes up.

In the theoretical discussion I also discussed deep pluralism – referring to a deeper and more multidimensional pluralism. Examples of deep pluralism include a deep and true understanding and appreciation of diversity and people from different religions, and also a societal effort for a community characterized by pluralism. It is interesting to see to what extent such a conceptualization can be found in the interviews and through the three themes.

Besides the thematic analyses of the interviews, I also, as mentioned earlier, analyze the results of the FQS in detail. I present the four main prototypes' FQS sorts in relation to the respondents' sorts. Naturally, I focus on the statements that are related to pluralism, which were also presented in the previous chapter. This aspect of my analysis allows me to find out what the FQS results mean in relation to pluralism and deep pluralism. I study the relations between the FQS statements and the interviews to see if the opinions on the FQS are in any way demonstrated in what the respondents say.

5.1 Religious pluralism in the Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer

Prototype one, the "Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer", is, when looking at the FQS statements related to pluralism (image 2), generally quite indifferent to pluralism. In general, this prototype has a strong belief in sacred texts as well as in the divine. Religion and religious rules are important to this prototype.

The only statements related to pluralism that prototype one has a clear opinion on, are statement 25, "Feels contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practises" (-3), and statement 76, "Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook" (+2). Statement 76 is also both a distinguishing statement and a defining statement for prototype one. Statement 100, "Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality", is also a defining statement for prototype one (-1). The other three prototypes sort this statement on the positive side, which suggests that prototype one is the only prototype not clearly supporting individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality.

When looking at the respondents' answers in contrast to the prototype, one finds that they differ from the prototype in some significant ways. Especially respondent 1A has sorted some cards in a different manner. Respondent 1A has sorted statement four, "Thinks that the world's religious traditions point to a common truth" -2, while the prototype has it at +1 and respondent 1B at +2. This means that respondent 1A is much more negatively inclined towards this statement than the prototype and the other respondent. Respondent 1A also agrees with statement 46, "Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation" (+4), more than the prototype (+2) and respondent 1B (+1). Statement 100, "Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality", is another statement that respondent 1A has a different opinion on than the prototype and respondent 1B. Respondent 1A has sorted this statement at -4, while the prototype ranks it -1 and respondent 1B ranks it 0. This means that respondent 1A has a clearly negative outlook on this statement.

	Prototype one	Respondent 1A	Respondent 1B
Statement 4	+1	-2	+2
Statement 25	-3	-2	-2
Statement 29	-1	-2	-2
Statement 46	+2	+4	+1
Statement 47	0	0	-2
Statement 76	+2	+3	+2
Statement 81	0	-1	+1
Statement 83	0	-1	+1
Statement 100	-1	-4	0

Image 2: Prototype one's and respondent 1A and 1B's FQS related to pluralism

In the interviews with respondent 1A and 1B, there are parts that showcase the FQS sorts and that I have chosen to describe in the following chapters. In prototype one, through respondent 1A and 1B, I find only a slightly pluralist mindset. There is no true respect for others and I find no signs of deep pluralism in this prototype. In the Muslim sample in Israel, there are six people who score close to prototype one. This is in other words the most common prototype in the sample. In prototype one I found all three themes that I described in the beginning of chapter 5, in both interviews.

5.1.1 Prototype one on other religions and people from other religions

As noted in the FQS sorts, prototype one is not specifically inclined to have a positively pluralistic worldview. This can be seen in the interviews. Both respondent 1A and 1B talk about being affected by people from other religions in a negative way. Respondent 1A says that he, when he first met people from other religions, was affected by them, but later he realized that it was bad and now he has gone back to his original thoughts. This is exemplified in the following quote.

> 1A: As I told you, let us say that I went away from my instinct, the thing is what I am used to since I was a kid, until the twelfth grade, I mean until the age of eighteen, nineteen years old Uh -- like, you can say, I went away a bit from religion, I started to try like, because, let us say, merge with this thing [I: Um-hm.] so -- here there was an effect, like. I started to absorb, behave according to environments that are not mine, not the environment that I am coming from.

I: And how was the effect of this thing on you?
1A: Of course at the beginning like, I only wanted to merge, and I was happy about it and that, [Interviewee makes a sound that means objection] but later the person reconsiders himself that "No! Like, I made a mistake, I am for example -- like they, they are from different environments, and everyone behaves according to his environment, then why don't I keep behaving according to my environment? Like, what is the reason that I -- ". It should not be that if I went out from my city then I have to go out -- also about my behaviour -- Uh -- change my behaviour. [I: Um-hm.] And considering the thing towards myself, like, "I change my behaviours for whom? To satisfy who exactly? Like, who is more important for me? To satisfy this or satisfy God, like, and feel that I am convinced from the inside also is in this thing and satisfied with it?" [I: Um-hm.] So -- here was the effect.

Respondent 1B says that she is impossible to affect religiously, that she knows exactly what she believes in. Meeting people from different religions only confirms her own faith, she says. This certainty can also be seen in FQS statement 29, "Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions", which she has sorted at -2. In the quote hereunder, respondent 1B talks about her acquaintances from other religions and how she perceives them and their religion – as well as about how she has reacted to this.

1B: (…) I perceived them in an opposite way, like "What is this? What is this craziness? What is this madness?" [I: Um-hm.] Like, I used to see views that sometimes I was surprised that "What is this behaviour?", but, like, no I wasn't affected by them and never, on the contrary, it increased my faith more, as I told you in this period I started watching religion and such a stuff, because I saw such a views, so I was shocked, like "What is this? What are they doing?", so no, I deepened more (…).

The way both respondent 1A and 1B reason correlates with prototype one's worldview; prototype one is labelled "Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer" and the prototype holds his or her own religion and beliefs as important. The respondents also talk about their friends, and say that their closest friends are Muslims. They come from Muslim areas in Israel and neither of them had any contact with persons from other religions when they were growing up. This represents FQS statement 76, "Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook". Respondent 1A says that she can express herself and her opinions only to a certain extent when she is with friends who are not Muslim, as shown in the following quote.

> 1A: Look, like, most of my friends are from my religion. [I: Um-hm.] So I do express in front of them in a -- a -- a free way, let us say, I express in front of them, like, I feel comfortable when expressing. Even though I have other friends who are like, there are Christians, there are Druze, like, there is a certain level that one can express up to it. [I: Um-hm.] Like, when I am sitting with a Christian I cannot come and like attack Christianity. [I: Um-hm.] Or sitting with one who is a Druze, I can't come and attack the -- the -- [I: The Druze religion.] the Druze. So it is still that when one -- people from his environment or they belong to a framework that he belongs to, the thing is still much more comfortable to express about it, about himself.

There is still something of a contradiction in the way respondent 1A and 1B talk about other religions. While they stick to their own beliefs, and even reject other religious teachings and behaviour, they also have an interest in other religions and in some ways accept them. This paradox is showcased in the FQS statements on the matter: statement 4, "Thinks that the world's religious traditions point to a common truth (prototype: +1, respondent 1A: -2, respondent 1B: +2), statement 29, "Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions" (-1, -2, -2), statement 47, "Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook" (0, 0, -2), and statement 81, "Is positively engaged by or interested in other peoples' religious traditions" (0, -1, +1). However, the statements are not sorted in any of the extremes, but rather in the neutrals. This could mean that the slight differences only mean that these statements are not important to the prototype or the respondents.

Respondent 1A first says that he believes that the holy books in Judaism, Christianity and Islam all "nearly have the same teachings, and no matter where you look, all of them call for teachings or call for behaviours which are good". However, later on, he says that "we see that the Bible and Torah were distorted, like, they really were brought down from God, but through time the Rabbis and the priests, let us say, and all these things, they distorted the -- the -- the thing". Respondent 1A accepts the other religious books to some extent, but he blames the people, the Christians and the Jews, to have distorted the books. Respondent 1B is also interested in other religions. She says that she and her Christian and Druze friends often discuss religious matters, and that she tries to inspire them to become interested in Islam by also knowing more about their religions. She says that she tries to affect them, but that they would never affect her.

> 1B: Affected by them, no, it is impossible to affect me. Like, that is it, I believe in one million percent that I am the right and that what I do is right and it is impossible to affect me no matter what happens [I: Um-hm.] But to affect others, maybe I will try to affect.

Although respondent 1B talks about religious matters with her non-Muslim friends, she is not open to letting them influence her at all, as is seen in the previous quote. In other words, respondent 1B expresses a pluralist lifestyle while simultaneously having anti-pluralist motives like not accepting other religious doctrines.

5.1.2 Prototype one on Islam and other Muslims

Respondent 1A and 1B talk about other Muslims in a way that makes them, the respondents, seem like "good Muslims". They talk about ignorance among other Muslims towards the religion, and they talk about other Muslims doing things that are haram (forbidden in Islam). This shows that there is a big difference in thoughts, opinions and actions within the Muslim community in Israel as well. The fact that the respondents bring these things up also highlights the importance of intra-religious differences in the daily lives of the respondents, in comparison to inter-religious differences in their daily lives.

Respondent 1A says that he was first exposed to other kinds of Islam when he started university, and he says that this led to a period of time when he was not close to religion. This is consistent with the thought that young adults who go to university often find a more diverse context than they are used to, and that the diverse surroundings have an effect on the students (Glanzer, Hill & Ream, 2014, 164-165).

Respondent 1B is shocked that some of her Muslim friends lack knowledge in Islam. She speaks with confidence about her own knowledge, and says that she teaches her friends about religious matters. As shown in the following quote, she bristles at her friends' ignorance of religious matters.

> 1B: (…) we also talk a lot about religion and argue, and they also shock me with their ignorance about many things in religion, despite being religious themselves. [I: Um-hm.] So

> we start arguing about such a things, not arguing but we would share our opinions. Like, these are the two groups that I feel we always talk about religion, [I: Um-hm.] and share our opinions, and at the end, {LG} thank God, I always convince them that I am right and provide them with proofs and such, [I: Um-hm.] Like, they did not know things ((and I clarify it to them))

During young adulthood it is typical for one's religiosity to be affected by friends. Respondent 1A clearly displays this behaviour, while respondent 1B, according to the respondent herself, is more inclined to affect others than letting them affect her.

5.1.3 Prototype one on politics and pluralism

When it comes to politics, there is especially one FQS statement that is relevant, and that is statement 46, "Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation". This statement is, as also mentioned in chapter 4, interesting because the nation, Israel, by definition is Jewish. Although, it seems like the Muslim respondents think of "religion" in this case, as Islam. This could indicate that the notion of nation is an abstract concept for the respondents; for example in Arabic the word "Umma" means both nation and the worldwide Islamic community. The word in the statement is not "Umma" in the Arabic translation, but it is possible, however, that the respondents think of their own community when reading the word nation. Prototype one agrees with statement 46, ranking it +2. Respondent 1A ranks it +4, while respondent 1B ranks it +1.

When talking about nation and religion in the interviews, both respondents would prefer an Islamic ruling in one way or another. Respondent 1A says that the Jewish religion is too strict: "they are very strict about their religion, they have a lot of rules, they have this, so if those rules were applied on us, like, honestly one will not live". He thinks that Islamic law in Israel would be impossible since Islamic law requires that the land is Islamic, which Israel is not. However, respondent 1A thinks that the Arabs should get autonomy within Israel, and there they could have Islamic rule.

Respondent 1B says that Islam should play a central role in the ruling of the nation. She believes that if one follows "it in one hundred percent, as in that Quran,

according to the Sunnah of our Prophet Mohammed, so yes, surely everything will be right". Nevertheless, she does not want Sharia law. The fact that prototype one prefers some kind of Islamic law to the Jewish laws is not surprising, seeing that a majority of Muslims in Israel have this opinion, according to the Pew Research Center study (2016, 196-197).

Respondent 1A and 1B both mention a political movement called Iqra'a. Iqra'a is a youth cell of The Islamic Movement in Israel, which in turn is an Islamist political movement. Iqra'a means "Read!" in Arabic. Respondent 1A seems to agree with the political and religious views of the movement. Respondent 1B says that the movement is good, but that it is not representative of her personally. Respondent 1A says that Iqra'a is a peaceful movement, and he calls it "middle Islam", meaning that it is not radical. However, the state banned the northern branch of the movement in 2015 after it was accused of radicalism (www.ynetnews.com, 2015).

> 1A: The -- "The Movement" the -- "Iqra'a", "The Movement", these are called the middle Islam, the middle Islam who are people, let us say, that are peaceful, Uh -- they keep, behave according to religion in -- in -- let us say, in a middle way [I: Um-hm.] while there are the Salafists, who are more restrictive, more, for example, like -- like, for example, Salafists you have for example "Jabhat Al-Nusra", this is the "ISIS" and that, all these things [I: Um-hm.] are called Salafi. [I: Um-hm.] Of course, they differ in their degree, the guys whom I know none of them as I know is a supporter of these movements, but Uh -- that means they are more religious, they come as a much committed person, whom you see with big beards, all these things. [I: Um-hm.] So -- my friends used to be from both types, like, from both these groups, even though I myself see that I tend more to the -- to the -- "Movement" and "Iqra'a", like I sympathize with them, not a member of them, but I sympathize with them. Ideologically I lean to them.

Respondent 1A has friends who follow Iqra'a, and friends who are Salafists. Salafism is a literalist interpretation within Sunni Islam, and Salafists think that real Islam is how prophet Mohammed lived in the early days of Islam (Egerton, 2011, 5-6). Salafists, respondent 1A says in the quote above, are for example ISIS. However, he says that there are different degrees of Salafists, and that his friends are not like ISIS in ideology. Respondent 1A says that he, ideologically, leans towards Iqra'a.

Respondent 1A and 1B have political views that can be seen as anti-pluralistic. Even though they do not completely support Sharia law in Israel, they do think that Islamic rule would be good for the Islamic nation. Here, it seems like they refer to Umma. Respondent 1A thinks that there should be autonomy for the Arabs, and that they should follow Islamic laws. This can on the hand be seen as a sign of pluralism; he respects the Jews and does not think that Islamic rule should be applied on all of Israel. But on the other hand this shows a sign of something other than pluralism since he wants to divide the people instead of trying to work together. However, this is similar to Connolly's thoughts in *Pluralism* (2005), where he argues that a two state solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict may be the best way of trying to encourage pluralism and deep pluralism in the future.

5.2 Religious pluralism in the Institutionally Unattached Universalist

Prototype two is, if one only looks at the nine FQS statement rankings that are included in the table below (image 3), the prototype that seems to be the most positive towards pluralism. This can also be seen in the prototype's label: "Institutionally Unattached Universalist". Generally, organized religion plays no big part in this prototype's life. On the one hand, they do believe in a personal God, but on the other hand they also support religious freedom of choice and think that people can be moral without being religious.

Prototype two has sorted all the statements that are somehow positive towards pluralism on the plus side, while all the statements that somehow display a non-pluralist mindset are sorted on the minus-side. Statement, 46, "Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation" (-1), statement 47, "Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook" (-4), statement 83, "Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious" (+4), and statement 100, "Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality" (+3) are defining for this prototype. Statement 46 and statement 100 are distinguishing for prototype two.

There are some discrepancies between the prototype and the respondents' FQS sorts. However, respondent 2A and 2B are the ones that have answered closest to prototype

from all the respondents and their correlating prototypes, when it comes to the nine statements about pluralism. Respondent 2B has sorted statement 47 at -1, while the prototype and respondent 2A have ranked it -4. Respondent 2B has also ranked statement 81, "Is positively engaged by or interested in other peoples' religious traditions", on the minus-side (-3), while the prototype has it at +1, and respondent 2A at +2. Hence, there is an interesting and thought-provoking difference between the prototype and both the respondents regarding statement 81. These two statements, statement 47 and statement 81, also demonstrate that respondent 2B may have a slightly less positive mindset regarding pluralism than the prototype.

	Prototype two	Respondent 2A	Respondent 2B
Statement 4	+2	+2	0
Statement 25	-1	-1	-1
Statement 29	+3	+2	+3
Statement 46	-1	-1	0
Statement 47	-4	-4	-1
Statement 76	-3	-2	-4
Statement 81	+1	+2	-3
Statement 83	+4	+4	+4
Statement 100	+3	+3	+3

Image 3: Prototype two's and respondent 2A and 2B's FQS related to pluralism

In the Muslim sample in Israel, only two people scored close to this prototype. In other words, respondent 2A and 2B are the only ones that scored highly on prototype two. This could, but does not have to, mean that this prototype is quite unusual in Israel.

In the interviews with respondent 2A and 2B I found the three themes: other religions and people from other religions, Islam and other Muslims, and politics and pluralism. Themes one and two I found in both interviews, the third theme only in the interview with respondent 2B.

5.2.1 Prototype two on other religions and people from other religions

Many times during the interview, respondent 2A says that one's religion or religious background does not matter for the person to be a good person or a good friend of the respondent's. She says that there are deeper things that determine whether someone is her friend. Respondent 2A also says that she could, in her own beliefs, marry someone from another religion. This is made clear in the quote hereunder. She says that she will not do it because of her parents. This is completely in line with the Pew Research Center study saying that the vast majority of Muslims are uncomfortable with their children marrying someone from outside their religion (2016, 209-215).

> 2A: (…) like, yes, I never cared that "Yes, hello, I am [The interviewee's name], Uh -- [[A Muslim]], and what are you? Christian? Muslim? Druze?" [I: Aha.] Never. In -- in the end, like, I told you there are -- supposed to be -- there are deeper things than that, in order to bond with the person in front of you. [I: Mm] Uh -- and I also think that I do not have a problem to -- like, if right now my parents did not exist, I would not have a problem with marrying someone from a different religion than mine. [I: Aha] But, like, for the sake of my parents I will not marry someone who is not from my religion. {LG} [I: "I will not do it" {LG}], Yes {LG} -- Uh –

Respondent 2A thinks that it is funny to think that a person would only associate with people who share the same religious tradition. However, she has sorted the statement regarding this, "Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook", at -2, which similar to the prototype (-3) and respondent 2B (-4), but slightly less disagreeing.

Respondent 2A and 2B both socialize with persons from different backgrounds than themselves. 2A has friends that are Druze and Christian, while 2B has socialized with Jews since an early age. The way both of them talk about people from other backgrounds is accepting and respectful. 2A talks almost like she has an insider perspective of the other religions, especially Druze, while 2B talks with a clear outsider perspective. Respondent 2A says that "I always say to them 'I feel like I am a Druze from inside' because of how much I know". Respondent 2A also talks in a way that resembles religious relativism, but it could also be interpreted as pluralism.

She says that meeting people from different religions has made her feel like nothing is absolute, which is shown in the following quote.

> 2A: No, but I began to feel like there is nothing that is absolute, like. [I: Um-hm] Like, the issue of the reincarnation of souls, for example. [I: Um-hm]. Our religion refuses this idea, but Uh -- but there are people other than me who do believe in it, and when somebody else does believe in it, and they see some certain {facts}** to support it [I: Um-hm] then -- I would not say that I believe in it, but I no longer reject it. [I: Um-hm] When I hear somebody talking about it, I respect it, and -- yes, I chime in with him {LG} and as if [I: {LG} I harmonize with the atmosphere] I harmonize with the atmosphere, yes [I: Um-hm]. But I do not reject it!

The fact that the respondents associate with people from other religions is also shown through the rankings of statement 47 (-4, -1) and 76 (-2, -4), where they disagree with statements saying that they feel closest to people from the same outlook as them or that they mainly associate with people from the same religious traditions.

Respondent 2B talks shortly about how basic morals are common for all religions and that she, because of her Bedouin upbringing, treats everybody with respect and generosity. Generosity and hospitality is a known trait among the Bedouins, and this is exemplified in the quote hereunder, from the interview with respondent 2B.

> 2B: I was in the fourth, fifth -- grade [I: Yes, Um-hm.] In this -- [I: At that age.] Yes, Uh -- like, for us the basic thing is -- the basic thing in life is respect [I: Um-hm.] Uh -- welcoming others and respecting others and -- there are principles, of course, religious, in every place, in every home [I: Um-hm.] which are not only -- not only principles for the Islam, like, for example -- Jesus, for example, calls for respect and peace and such a stuff. [I: Um-hm.] The same thing in the religion of the -- in all religions [I: Um-hm.] this is something elementary, so we do regard that thing [I: Um-hm, due to the principles which you were raised upon at home.] Of course.

Respondent 2A reflects on the effects of her meeting Jewish people when she worked as a cashier for a year at the age of 18. This was the first time she had gone out of her home village, which is a mixed Christian-Muslim town. Now, she met Jewish people and learnt Hebrew. She says that it had a positive effect on her.

Respondent 2A and 2B have an understanding of and respect for people from different religions. In their interviews, they imply that they understand that

interacting with people with different backgrounds has a positive effect on them in regards to being a respectful and understanding person. They display deep pluralism in how they talk about and behave with people from other religions. They show hospitality, openness and generosity towards non-Muslims, exactly like Connolly describes a working deep pluralism (2005).

5.2.2 Prototype two on Islam and other Muslims

Both respondents criticize other Muslims. Respondent 2A criticizes her own home village because she feels that they are hypocritical. As we can see in the following quote, the respondent thinks that people in her home village let others know that they are religious and conservative, while at the same time they act in a non-religious way.

> 2A: Religious on shit, how do I know! {LG} [I: {LG}] I do not know, if it is religious, like there is, there is supposed to be a definition for the word "Religious". If some woman is just wearing a scarf on her head, I cannot necessarily call her religious. [I: Um-hm] Like, they -- gossip a lot, they talk too much about others, they -- Uh -- criticize too much, a religious person is not supposed to {occupy himself}** with -- with these people and talk about them, and talk about this guy and that girl, this person and that person, and what people did and did not do, [I: Um-hm] so I do not know if they are religious, but they {define}** themselves as religious and conservative.

Respondent 2B criticizes violent groups within Islam, saying that they are not really Muslims. In her Bedouin home village, she has been raised to appreciate values that accept the other religion, and to believe that Islam means loving other people. The interviewer asks what the differences between Bedouins and other Muslims are, since Bedouins are Muslims and the respondent talks about Bedouins as an ethnic group with their own values. The respondent has two answers: the first answer is that the Bedouins always serve the country that they are in. Here, the interviewer has put a footnote saying that this is not a typical Bedouin trait, but rather a Druze trait. The reasons for the respondent to say this could be that the respondent knows that the interviewer is Druze and wants to impress her, or that the Bedouins are using the Druze excuse for serving in the army. The second answer is that other Muslims

follow Sheikhs and other leaders who may encourage terrorist acts; and the Bedouins reject behaviour like that. This part of the answer is quoted hereunder.

> 2B: But in Islam there is a difference between the -- in the understanding of the -- religion.
> I: That is?
> 2B: There are -- radical Sheikhs who started taking the -- the -- take groups which, or -- what can I say to you, like, take the -- the religion, like, they started setting what is Halal, and what is Haram, like, out of -- out of the things that they -- like, from them, I mean from them, that is according to the person himself [I: Um-hm.] not something religious, not something that {belongs}** to religion. [I: Um-hm.] for example, we do not have that issue of {terror attacks}** and such a stuff, we do not have it among us, it does not exist, like, we believe that -- this is, like "This soul belongs to – God, like, since the soul, who are you to kill that soul? Who are you, like?" [I: Um-hm.] in that we have a very very big difference between us and all the others, according to the -- to the rest of the Arabs we are traitors [I: Um-hm.] and until -- until now we are traitors according to them. [I: Um-hm.] as Bedouins we are traitors.

In the previous quote respondent 2B criticizes Sheikhs who take religion into their own hands and decide what is right and wrong. She says that Bedouins do not have a problem with radicalism and terror attacks, because they do not listen to similar Sheikhs. However, she says, Bedouins are seen as traitors in the broader Muslim community.

Respondent 2B, and the Bedouins altogether, illustrate one form of pluralism in Islam. There are big differences both in teachings and in behaviour between the Bedouins and other Muslims in Israel. I discuss the question of serving in the army and the political questions it raises further in chapter 5.2.3, which deals with politics and pluralism in prototype two.

Respondent 2A brings up another criticism of the traditions of her people. She says that every person should be able to personally choose what traditions and beliefs he or she follows. She is critical of the notion that everybody has to follow the same patterns, and claims that religion is something personal that everyone should get to mould in their own individual way. This shows yet another type of pluralism in respondent 2A. She is very hesitant to force anyone into a specific tradition or group, and sees a value in a diverse religious landscape. Respondent 2A says: “and even if I

did believe in a certain thing, it is not necessary, it is not necessary for me to make someone else believe in it when he does not see it".

5.2.3 Prototype two on politics and pluralism

It is mainly respondent 2B who talks about politics in her interview. This comes from the fact that she is a Bedouin, and Bedouins have a special position in Israel when it comes to questions regarding the military. Bedouins are not obliged to do military service, it is voluntary for them and some of them do it. This is dissimilar from the Druze who must do military service. The fact that Bedouins volunteer in the, mainly Jewish, military is not always popular among other Arabs, says respondent 2B.

There is a difference between the Bedouins in the north and the Bedouins in the south of Israel, says respondent 2B. The Bedouins in the south live in the Negev desert, which in recent years has been destination for Jewish settlers. This has led to the Bedouins' lands being expropriated and the Bedouins becoming angry at the Israeli state and not volunteering in the IDF. Respondent 2B is a northern Bedouin, so she disassociates herself from the Bedouins in the south. She says in the next quote that the southern Bedouins are affected by the Islamic Movement, and become more radical and extremist than the northern Bedouins.

> 2B: the {Islamic movement}** has spread over there, so that it {took control}** over the majority of the -- the -- {Bedouin villages}** over there, and -- –
> I: That means that they entered religion as a radical path more than you?
> 2B: Exactly. [I: Um-hm.] The majority there became radical, like. [I: Um-hm.] now they are like -- they, like, the Southern Bedouins sometimes send leaflets and messages to the Northern Bedouins that "{Get away}** and -- go back to religion" and so on, like. We, for example, belief in religion, but we are not {extremists}** at all, like [I: Um-hm.] at all!

Respondent 2B uses many Hebrew words when she talks in her interview. This indicates that she knows Hebrew well. Hebrew is the language that the Jews speak, so this also shows that respondent 2B has had much connections to Jews.

Prototype two, through respondent 2A and 2B, has many traits that can be regarded as pluralism and deep pluralism. They often have a more positive image of people coming from other religions, than they do of other Muslims. They show a disapproval of Muslims who are more radical and extremist than they are, and sometimes they show signs of religious relativism. Religious relativism is not same as religious pluralism, and that is why prototype two can be seen as both a quite strong advocate of pluralism as well as a relativist for whom their own religion is not important. Showing disapproval of radical Muslims is, according to me, on the one hand a sign of pluralism since it indicates a more moderate attitude towards religion. On the other hand, however, it is also a sign of inability to understand others, which in turn is a main virtue of normative religious pluralism.

5.3 Religious pluralism in the Religiously Uninterested but Culturally Committed

Prototype three, "Religiously Uninterested but Culturally Committed", has quite strong opinions on the FQS statements regarding pluralism (image 4). The main characteristics of prototype three are, however, a lack of interest in religion and a self-image of not being religious although they do believe in some ways. This prototype fully agrees that one does not have to be religious to be moral.

The only statement that can be interpreted as negative towards pluralism, and that prototype three has sorted on the positive side (+3), is statement 46, "Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation". The respondents also agree with this, to a varied extent (+1, +3). This means that prototype three thinks that people should remain loyal to the religion of their country, and this is a negative approach on pluralism since it presumably includes a negative opinion on people who have converted to other religions, for example.

All other statements are sorted in favour of religious pluralism. Prototype three has sorted two statements in the extremes: one at -4 and one at +4. Statement 47, "Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook", is ranked -4. The respondents have ranked this statement -3 and -3 respectively. Statement 83, "Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious", is ranked +4. The respondents have

sorted this statement at +4 and +3. Statement 47 and 83 are also defining statements for this prototype. None of the statements regarding pluralism are distinguishing for prototype three.

The respondents do not always fully agree with the prototype on how to sort the statements regarding pluralism. Statement 29, "Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions", is ranked +2 by the prototype, +3 by respondent 3A, but -1 by respondent 3B. This statement, however, depending on how one interprets it, could reveal more of a relativist mindset than a pluralist mindset.

	Prototype three	Respondent 3A	Respondent 3B
Statement 4	+1	+1	+1
Statement 25	-1	0	-2
Statement 29	+2	+3	-1
Statement 46	+3	+1	+3
Statement 47	-4	-3	-3
Statement 76	-3	-1	-3
Statement 81	+1	0	+2
Statement 83	+4	+4	+3
Statement 100	+1	+1	0

Image 4: Prototype three's and respondent 3A and 3B's FQS related to pluralism

The Muslim sample in Israel only revealed two people who scored close to prototype three. This was the case only with prototype two and three, and may mean that prototype three, like prototype two, is more unusual among Muslims in Israel than the other two prototypes. In the interviews with respondent 3A and 3B I found them talking about theme one and two: about other religions and people from other religions, as well as about Islam and about other Muslims. However, neither of the respondents talked about politics. This could be a sign of disinterest in political matters.

5.3.1 Prototype three on other religions and people from other religions

Respondent 3A gives a clear answer regarding people from other religions. He says that Islam says that you should disassociate yourself from people from other religions, but that he disagrees. This shows a strong opinion in favour of pluralism. He has ranked the FQS statement about mainly associating with people from the same religious tradition or outlook (statement 76) at -1. The prototype ranks it -3 and so does respondent 3B also. Statement 47, "Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook", respondent 3A has ranked -3. The prototype ranks it -4 and respondent 3B -3. From how respondent 3A talks about this matter, it is not surprising that he disagrees with the previously mentioned statements.

> I: Yes, the plus-four "Expresses his religion primarily in charitable acts or social action."
> 3A: Yes, as you say, religion is -- religion is forgiveness, first of all. For instance, I do not have a problem, for example, that my friend would be a Christian or a Druze, like, on the contrary, I have many Druze and Christian friends. I mean -- not as Islam says, today they say that Islam says that "Islam is Islam, do not be friends with a Christian, and do not be friends with a Druze, and kill the Christian, and --", no, I do not have {any problem}** (…)

Respondent 3A does not care from what religion people are, and he is uninterested in their religions. It is, however, interesting that he, in the previous quote, says that Islam tells Muslims not to befriend any non-Muslims. This means that respondent 3A either does not care about the rules of his religion, or he intentionally wants to break the rules. This could be because he has pluralist values. The theme of the rest of the quote, that the respondent shows a clear indifference and unconcern with others' religions, is a theme that the whole interview follows. He is also uninterested in his own religion in some ways. During the interview, he mostly talks about that he is doing well in his life, materially. However, he mentions needing his belief and the Quran in some situations. At the same time, he says that he breaks the rules of Islam many times, and seems to be in peace with that.

Respondent 3A says that he does not care if his friends hate Islam, nor does he care about what they believe in. He says that everyone is welcome to be his friend if they are a good person. This shows that respondent 3A is a person with pluralistic behaviour. This is also indicated in the following quote. In the quote respondent 3A

also says that the does not care if someone hates Islam – which is a sign of ignorance towards religion.

> I: How was this meeting with the other religions for you?
> 3A: Like -- I did not {even}** ask about the religion of any of them, like {alright}** I saw that he was a Christian, I saw he was wearing -- a Christian, so what? I have never asked him, for instance "How do you people pray?", or "How do you people perform ablution?", or "How -- ?" That is it “May God help each one with his own religion.” I look at the person as he is, is he good? [I: Um-hm] meaning {a man}** with me, as they say? Countable? Not {stingy}**? and so on, that is what I {care}** about, "You are welcomed". So I watch him in a couple of incidents, for instance, if he stands for me or such, then he is a friend. [I: Um-hm] But what his religion is, and what he believes in, and if he hates Islam -- {I do not care at all}**.

Respondent 3B has a background that also makes her knowledgeable in other religions than Islam. Her grandmother was born a Jew, and converted to Islam when she got a letter from the IDF that she was obliged to serve in the army. It was the respondent’s grandmother’s father who decided about the conversion. The grandmother is incoherent when it comes to religion, the respondent says that the grandmother for example still lights the Shabbat candle. This incoherency is exemplified in the quote hereunder.

> 3B: {Part}**in her was like that, and {part}** in her is {really}** an Arab, like. Like, you can see here, she believes very much in the things -- in the -- Uh-- like in the Jewish and that, like, sometimes at Friday's I come home and find that she lightened up {Shabbat candle}**, like. [I: Um-hm.] like, she still have some things, and there is a {Jamb}**at the entrance of our home, so there are things which still {inherent*}**in her, there are things which -- she fasts for example in Ramadan. [I: Um-hm.] so that is the way it is.

Respondent 3B has grown up in a multi-religious environment. She says that her mother exposed her to the Jewish religion during her childhood, by for example going to her Jewish uncles to celebrate Passover. She went to a Christian school maintained by Nuns. She talks about the Christian teaching at the school, and that it affected her when she was a small child. She says, for example, that the Christian chants they learned at the school had a very big impact on her life.

When respondent 3B grew older, she says, the Christian school had no impact on her religiosity. She says that she is still a Muslim, like she was when she was born. She

has stayed a Muslim although her uncle once told her that she could convert to Judaism if she wanted to.

It is clear that respondent 3B has lived a life infused by pluralism. She has an insider view of what it is like being a Muslim, a Jew, and a Christian because of her multi-religious upbringing. She has a positive image of the pluralistic society in Israel. However, she still claims to be a Muslim and has chosen not to embrace other religions as her own. Her mindset reaches that of a deep pluralist's. She is positive and open towards other religions, and she has, because of her multi-religious upbringing, lived a reality characterized by deep pluralism.

Nevertheless, the respondent has some doubts about her religion – which brings forward a contradiction to the certainty that she has shown up to this. When the interviewer asks the respondent whether she thinks that the fact that she was exposed to Judaism during her childhood had any effects on her religiosity, she says that she feels like she belongs neither to "here nor to there". In the following quote from respondent 3B's interview, she says that she feels like this, although her father is a religious Muslim and has taught her to pray and fast when she was young.

> I: I am trying, like, to understand the effect – because you emphasized" big, big, big", of your mother [3B: Um-hm.] and you said that this thing made you become more open, like, to the others. [3B: Right.] But where, where else did that thing had an effect? Did it have other effects? Also in terms, not necessarily that you learn the Jewish religion or that you get {exposed}** to it [3B: Um-hm.] but also to the Islamic religion [3B: Um-hm.] how was the effect of that thing on you?
>
> 3B: Like, I do not know, so I feel myself as {not belonging}** not to here nor to there {specifically}** even though my father was like, very much emphasized the Islamic thing, like. He prays like, and very much -- like, very much related to religion [I: Um-hm.] and -- like, I do know, even though once when I was small I used to pray, {LG} Uh -- I used to fast.

Even though respondent 3B says that she is a Muslim and not affected by other religions, she also says that she does not know what religious tradition she belongs to. Looking at the FQS statement 29, "Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions", she has, in contrast to the prototype and respondent 3A, sorted it on the negative side. This shows that respondent 3B, at least on some

level, thinks that she is not affected by the other religions and still wants to be a Muslim.

Respondent 3B says that she is fearful because she is not sure about what she believes in. She says: “it is not that I stopped believing, it is -- it is that I do not believe in the -- in Islam”. There is a paradox here – since the respondent calls, and wants to call, herself a Muslim, but at the same time lacks a belief in Islam. In chapter 5.3.2 I study how the uncertainty that respondent 3B feels regarding her identity affects her social life and relations with other Muslims.

Both respondent 3A and 3B show an uncertainty towards religion and towards what they believe in. At the same time, they call themselves Muslims. I study this more in chapter 5.3.2. Both respondents have a positive outlook on people from other religions.

5.3.2 Prototype three on Islam and other Muslims

Respondent 3A talks mostly about his religiosity and how he leads his life, and not much about other Muslims. A common trait for both respondent 3A and 3B is that they talk about religion and religiosity strictly from their own perspective. Whenever they mention other people in this context, these people are only comparisons to themselves. They also talk about their families; family seems to play an important role in their lives. In contrast to prototype one and two, prototype three seems much less interested in what other people do and believe, as well as in politics and pluralism. However, respondent 3A shows a scare of that other people will judge him for behaving wrongly according to his religion. This is exemplified in the following quote, in which he is afraid to talk freely, scared of being judged.

> 3A: Yes, because for instance, I, as a human being, I -- like, believe in the existence of God, and I -- and like, as they say, the Islam, they believe it is the right religion among all religions. [I: Um-hm] However, at the same time, I do not abide by what my religion imposes on me, and -- sometimes I even contradict it. Like, for instance, in our religion drinking is forbidden, I drink. [I: Um-hm] For instance, it is not allowed -- girls and girl matters, I talk with girls, and I -- I do not know, the thing is also difficult {LG}.

I: Um-hm. Difficult in what way?

3A: I mean, in terms of, like -- how can I explain it to you? [I: Meaning, it was not comfortable, is that what you mean?] Like that, first thing that it is not comfortable. The second thing is that -- meaning you on the one hand say -- like, "There is God", you know things in your religion, but in the negative, I put that I do not follow all the religious legislations of my religion. [I: Um-hm] So -- you might have an impression of me, like a little bit, that is why I am saying that --

I: Okay. Uh-- you mean that I judge you?

3A: Yes, or for instance the person who will read it.

Even though respondent 3A is insecure about his religiosity and throughout the interview mostly talks about his material gains in life, he still cares about how people see him and if they see that he is breaking the religious laws set by Islam. An interesting difference between this and prototype two is that, while both prototypes in fact have pluralistic characteristics, both respondent 3A and 3B seem to look up to what they call religious Muslims, while respondents 2A and 2B have a more negative outlook on them. However, respondent 3B struggles with Muslims who, according to her, give Muslims a bad image among non-Muslims. That is one reason for her to introduce herself as Muslim in some instances, especially at the university. It is difficult for other people to know that she is Muslim from her looks since her background is partly Jewish – she looks more like a Jew than an Arab.

There is one more example of respondent 3B's contradictory identity in the interview. She talks about a man that she is involved with, and she says that she has to introduce herself as a Muslim because the man is a Muslim. At the same time she is not happy with this, but says that she does not identify as anything other than Muslim either. The respondent also mentions an old boyfriend whom she left because he was, according to her, an extremist. This is one of the only times that either respondent 3A or 3B says anything negative about a Muslim with a different type of religiosity than them. In the following quote, which shows the contradictory identity of respondent 3B, the respondent seems unsure about the definition of her beliefs. The scope of Islam may or may not include her beliefs, but the respondent is unsure.

I: Uh -- and when you said, now I will regard your bodily language a little bit, [3B: Yes.] When you said "Now I am with him, I will have to introduce myself as a Muslim" [3B: Um-hm.] you,

like, shook your head with lack of conviction, in uncomfortable manner, or with unacceptance to the thing, as if "I will have to introduce myself as a Muslim", and -- and I would like to ask you, Uh -- if you have the choice today would you define yourself as a Muslim?
3B: Uh --
I: You have the freedom of choice and what to define yourself [3B: (())] Without any {criticism}**, like? Like, if you were in a community that allows you to speak without any -- –
3B: It is that I do not have anything else to be defined as, something else, like, honestly. [I: Um-hm.] like, this is what is there -- this is what I have, I do not find myself {belonging}** to another place, [I: Um-hm.] so this is the only place, like. Now -- I do know, like, I am not going to come and say "I am a Muslim, but I do not believe in --", what do I know about the -- the miracles which happens. Like, maybe -- –

Prototype three has a pluralist mind, and also a deep pluralist mind on many accounts. At the same time, however, there is certain indifference towards matters regarding religious pluralism, politics, and also to some extent religion as a whole. This is seen both in the interviews and in the FQS. Prototype three wishes no involvement in these questions, but leads a pluralist life from the side.

5.4 Religious pluralism in the Experientially Inclined Committed Believer

Prototype four, “Experientially Inclined Committed Believer”, holds a religious worldview and believes in God. Their religiousness becomes stronger in difficult times of their lives, and they mainly show their religiousness through charitable or social acts.

Prototype four has two statements regarding pluralism sorted at +/- 3 or higher (image 5). Statement 4, “Thinks that the world’s religious traditions point to a common truth”, is sorted at +3 by the prototype; respondent 4A also sorted it at +3 while respondent 4B sorted it at +1. This means that prototype four sees something common in all religious traditions. The statement can be interpreted in a relativist way, meaning that the prototype is inclined to mix religious practises and thoughts. But it can also mean that prototype four likes to focus on the commonalities and not the differences between the religions. To study this further, I look at statement 29, “Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions”. The prototype ranks this statement -1; the respondents rank it -2 and +1. Clearly, in light

of the negative ranking by the prototype, prototype four has no intention to mix religious traditions although respondent 4B ranks it on the plus side.

The second statement that prototype four has a strong opinion on is statement 25, "Feels contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practices", ranked -3. The respondents rank it -2 and -2 respectively. Since it is ranked negatively, it means that the prototype (as well as the respondents) disagrees with this; and on the contrary approves of different religious institutions, ideas and practices.

	Prototype four	Respondent 4A	Respondent 4B
Statement 4	+3	+3	+1
Statement 25	-3	-2	-2
Statement 29	-1	-2	+1
Statement 46	+2	+2	+2
Statement 47	+1	+1	+1
Statement 76	-1	+1	-1
Statement 81	0	-1	+1
Statement 83	+1	+3	+1
Statement 100	+1	0	+1

Image 5: Prototype four's and respondent 4A and 4B's FQS related to pluralism

Prototype four lacks strong opinions on most of the statements regarding pluralism, and none of them are distinguishing or defining for this prototype. The prototype thinks, to some extent (+2), that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation (statement 46). All other statements are sorted at -1, 0, or +1. There are two times when a respondent ranks a statement on the opposite side of zero from the prototype. I already discussed statement 29. Statement 76, "Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook", is ranked -1 by the prototype, +1 by respondent 4A and -1 by respondent 4B. Respondent 4B seems to have more associations with people from the same religious traditions than the prototype. The difference -1 to +1 is, however, quite small and may not have an actual influence on the persons' lives.

From studying only the FQS sorts one can deduce an indifference towards pluralism and questions regarding pluralism. Prototype four has not many strong opinions on the matter, but shows a slightly positive attitude towards diversity. Prototype four is labelled "Experientially Inclined Committed Believer", and as the label suggests there is no room for pluralism or other religions in the main interest spheres of the prototype. In the Muslim sample in Israel, this prototype is the second most common. Four people scored close to prototype four.

Both respondent 4A and 4B talk about other religions or people from other religions in their interviews, and both of them also talk about politics in different ways. However, only respondent 4A talks about other Muslims.

5.4.1 Prototype four on other religions and people from other religions

Respondent 4A tells the interviewer that he used to play football on a mostly Jewish team, with only a few Arabs. He says very little about this, but when the interviewer asks, he says that he was happy with this experience and that he learned Hebrew, which he implies, was good. The respondent comes from a Bedouin village so he grew up with only other Bedouins around him. A few times during the interview, respondent 4A says that he is not affected by other people and by what they think. He says that he has no interest in religious or political matters. This discourse is shown in the following quote.

> I: You know what? That is fine! I meant to ask about the village that you are living in, what is its role in your life, if it has any role, but it is also important for me to hear about the role of society in your life, the Arab-- the Jewish-- [Respondent is silent for about 30 seconds] Does the society has any effect on you? Do you feel that [4A: No, I do not think so, no].
> I: Not also the society of [Respondent's village name]?
> 4A: No.
> I: Umhm--and the Arabs and Jews?
> 4A: The same too, I do not have a problem with anyone--the political matters and -- I am not involved in it.

In her interview, respondent 4B talks much about herself and what she has been through in life. One time that she mentions other religions is when she is talking about FQS statement 87, "Views religious content as metaphoric, rather than literally true". She disagrees with this statement in regards to her own religion. Concerning other religions she is not certain. Respondent 4B thinks that the holy books of other religions have been distorted. In the following quote from her interview, she says this and claims that people from other religions admit that they are wrong.

> I: "Views religious content as metaphoric, rather than literally true". What is confusing?
> 4B: Because -- if I want to talk about my religion, like -- there are religions that have this thing, for me, but at the same time every religion was basically something right, like when it was delivered it was surely something that was literally true, other than that surely there are religions which were distorted, books which were distorted, like they themselves, the religions admit that, those who belong to the religion itself admit that thing [I: Um-hm.] so -- like Uh -- I do not, like that.
> I: You put it in the minus–four because you were --
> 4B: I have put it, according to me [I: Mm.] Thinking about my religion, no, this does not exist in us, surely not, like.

Prototype four shows little interest in talking about other religions, people from other religions, or their relationships with people from other religions. There is no clear negative or positive opinion on these matters; only a slight pluralist mindset is found in respondent 4A. Prototype four seems uninterested in pluralism, which makes it impossible for me to find any signs of deep pluralism.

5.4.2 Prototype four on Islam and other Muslims

Respondents 4A and 4B say very little about other Muslims. Some things that they say are connected to politics and I discuss those in chapter 5.4.3. However, respondent 4A says something. The interviewer asks the respondent, who is a Bedouin, what the differences are between Bedouins and other Muslims. The respondent says that there are no differences, and he also talks about The Islamic Movement winning ground in his village. As is seen in the quote hereunder, he sees

no problem with some people doing military service and some people belonging to The Islamic Movement.

> I: {So} what is the difference then? Because I hear lots of "The Bedouins-- the Bedouins-- the Bedouins" as if you were a different religious group.
> 4A: I do not understand in these divided groups the (( )), but I do not think there is any difference.
> I: So you do not feel that the Bedouins are a different group from the rest of the Islam?
> 4A: No.
> I: Also from the religious perspective for example, is there a difference?
> 4A: Also no. We have religious people and we have not-religious.
> I: Yes, but the question is whether that differs from the religiosity and not-religiosity that exists in the rest of the Muslim villages?
> 4A: No, I do not think so. We also have the "Islamic Movement".
> I: At [respondent's village name]?
> 4A: Yes, and with time I see that it is increasing.
> I: Even though the village "serves" in the army?
> 4A: Yes, but they do not affect like the -- people the -- how to say it -- who serve in the army. It goes like whoever his father served in the army, his children will serve, and his father had served.

Respondent 4A here shows a pluralist mind and indifference towards pluralism at the same time. On the one hand he sees no problem with people from different religions doing things together – some Muslims in his village do military service for the mainly Jewish army. On the other hand he shows no interest in trying to understand these questions, and he says that there is no difference between the Bedouins and other Muslims. This could be true, and a sign that he goes beyond religion and ethnicity, but it could also be a sign that he is uneducated about religion, culture and the diversity of them.

5.4.3 Prototype four on politics and pluralism

In the parts where respondent 4A talks about politics it is indirect, since he focuses on the military and the fact that many Bedouins serve in it. He tells the interviewer about his family, and then he goes on to saying that Bedouins can volunteer in the army but that other Muslims do not serve in the army. He says parts of this in

Hebrew, because he cannot remember how to say it in Arabic. Hebrew is the language that the Jews use in Israel, while Arabs mostly speak Arabic. It seems like he has strong connections to the Jewish community.

Respondent 4A also thinks that the fact that he served in the army helps him in life. He says that his military service will give him an advantage on the labour market. The interviewer asks the respondent whether the military service has given him any disadvantages or problems, and he says no. However, he has heard of Bedouins who have done military service having problems with other Muslims who do not like it. He seems to think that this is hypocritical, because he says that there are many Muslims in the military. He says that they lie to their villages about serving in the army and say that they work in Eilat, a city far from most Arab cities. As seen in the quote hereunder, this is however not a problem in his village.

> 4A: Yes, they go out and "I work in Eilat, I work in Eilat", and leave without the {uniforms}**.
> I: And in your village, is there something like that? You can go back home with the uniforms, and that is acceptable?
> 4A: No, among us it is normal.

Respondent 4B is critical of the political environment that she lives in. She says that society makes it impossible for her to be a more religious person, even though she would like to. According to respondent 4B, on the one hand there is a descriptive sort of pluralism in Israel, a religious diversity. On the other hand there seems to be no normative, positive kind of pluralism. The respondent says that women who wear the hijab face many difficulties in society, she says that it is difficult for them to find work, for example. She also says that she could not do the work she does right now if she wore the hijab. The quote exemplifies how respondent 4B thinks that the public policies have made it difficult to be a Muslim.

> 4B: (…) So this is one of the reasons, for example if I were wearing the hijab now I would not have been working in the work that I am doing. [I: Um-hm.] For example, in the shopping malls, in [an Israeli fashion company] and these things, they do not employ girls who are wearing the hijab, so -- it is kind of -- like, the state has an effect, the policy of the state has an effect on this thing.

There is a conflict between the way respondent 4B and her mother behave, and how they would like to behave. The political situation in Israel is too dangerous for them to show their religion, says the respondent. In the quote hereunder, her portrayal of Israel shows an anti-pluralist country where religious diversity is not seen as something positive but rather as a threat.

> 4B: Uh -- my mother also has that kind of conflict, like sometimes she would say to me "Yes, wear the hijab". [I: Um-hm.] Like, you know, sometimes this person goes through periods of very strong faith, so -- "Yes" and so on, you know, that one gets closer, and that one gets closer as much as he can. So -- but there comes periods, as you can see out now, for example, incidents, for example these stabbing incidents, like now, the political situation is messy, for example "No, do not become religious right now, the situation is very dangerous". [I: Um-hm.] Not because she does not want to me to be closer to religion, like, sort of worrying about me.
> I: Yes, because if you wear [4B: Yes.] you might get in danger and difficulties.

Prototype four has little interest in matters of religious pluralism. However, both respondent 4A and 4B had trouble understanding words on the Arabic FQS cards – they only understood them after the interviewer translated them into Hebrew. This is a sign of a kind of pluralism, since both respondents are Muslim but better understand words in Hebrew, the language that is commonly spoken among Jews.

Both respondents lead pluralist lives in that way that they associate with people from other religions. Respondent 4A served in the Israeli army, while respondent 4B works in a shopping mall in a Jewish city. Respondent 4B is scared of the political situation in Israel. There is, in other words, no deep pluralism on a societal level according to her.

5.5 Conclusion and discussion of results

The analysis of the FQS, of the interviews, and of the FQS in correlation to the interviews has resulted in some interesting finds concerning the prototypes and pluralism. As a whole, some kind of religious pluralism is found in all four prototypes extracted from the Muslim sample in Israel. Signs of deep religious pluralism are only found in prototype two and three.

According to the Pew Research Center study in 2016, 38 percent of Muslims say that all their friends are Muslim, 48 percent say that most their friends are Muslim, and 12 percent say that some, hardly any, or none of their friends are Muslim (218-219). This is quite in line with the findings I have made in the YARG material. However, none of the four prototypes claim all their friends to be Muslim. This may result from the fact that young adults are more prone to have inter-religious friendships than the Muslim community as a whole. The YARG sample consisting of highly educated Muslims could also be a reason for this discrepancy.

Moreover, the Pew Research Center study found that 16 percent of Muslims think that the Druze are Muslims. I found no evidence of this view in my material; all respondents talked about the Druze religion as something dissimilar from Islam. The reasons for this discrepancy remain unknown, and this would be an interesting approach to future research. However, the fact that my sample of eight people lacks a view that only 16 percent of Muslims agree with is perhaps not surprising. Other than the two matters discussed here, the results I have found are similar to the responses in the Pew Research Center study.

The findings I have made relating to pluralism in Islam, for example to how one should relate to freedom of religion or to religious dialogue, are similar to what Moshen Kadivar says when he promotes freedom of religion and religious dialogue (2012). The respondents in my study have different opinions on whether one should try to convince other people of Islam's correctness, but all seem to agree that interacting with non-Muslims is acceptable or even beneficial.

In the table below (image 6), the results of the analysis in relation to religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism are shown. I explain the results further for each prototype after the table. After this, there is another table of results (image 7). This table describes the results in relation to empirical and normative forms of pluralism. Both tables present the same results, but from different perspectives. In combination with the other, more in-depth, explanations of the results, the tables give a comprehensive impression of the results found in the analysis.

Prototype	**Religious pluralism**	**Deep religious pluralism**
Prototype one: "Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer"	A general indifference towards religious pluralism, but some signs of it as they have friends from other religions.	No indication of deep religious pluralism.
Prototype two: "Institutionally Unattached Universalist"	Signs of religious pluralism both in how they live and in their values and opinions.	They indicate deep religious pluralism in how they show respect for and generosity towards other people.
Prototype three: "Religiously Uninterested but Culturally Committed"	An indifference towards religion as a whole, but they lead lives characterized by religious pluralism.	Signs of deep religious pluralism in how they live, but no outspoken opinions in favour of it.
Prototype four: "Experientially Inclined Committed Believer"	Their social interactions indicate a pluralist mindset, but they barely talk about matters concerning religious pluralism in their interviews.	No indications of deep pluralism considering that they seem uninterested in the matter and express no pluralist values aloud.

Image 6: Table of results in relation to religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism.

Prototype one is labelled "Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer", and this label gives a good impression of what the prototype is like, based on the FQS and the interviews. Prototype one has a strong faith, and is somewhat indifferent towards pluralism. Most of prototype one's associations seem to be Muslim, since statement 76, "Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook", is ranked on the positive side. Prototype one is not very interested in other people's religions, but rather seems to be interested in convincing other people that Islam is right. The signs of pluralism that prototype one shows are, first of all, that they do have some friends from other religions than Islam. Secondly, they also think that Islam (Sharia law) should not rule Israel, since they think it would be wrong for the people from other religions. However, there are no signs of deep pluralism in prototype one. They lack a respect for and acceptance of people from other religions, and they think that other religions are distorted versions of the truth.

Prototype two is labelled “Institutionally Unattached Universalist”, and the label gives a good impression of what prototype two is like. The prototype lacks a care of religious belonging, and thinks that people should be judged on other terms than their religion. Prototype two is critical of their own background and traditions, and believe that one should be able to decide matters of faith oneself. This can be seen in how the prototype ranks statement number 100, “Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality”. The prototype ranks this statement at +3. The prototype has an understanding of people from different religions, and thinks that associating with these people has a positive influence on them. They display deep pluralism in how they show hospitality, openness and generosity towards non-Muslims. This is the most positively pluralist-minded prototype of all four prototypes.

Prototype three is labelled “Religiously Uninterested but Culturally Committed”, and this disinterest towards religion is clearly shown in the FQS and in the interviews. The prototype is uncertain of what they believe in, but still call themselves Muslims for lack of better descriptions. They have respect for and knowledge of people from other religions, but they do not really care about what background people come from. Prototype three wishes no involvement in questions of religion, but leads a pluralist life. This is for example seen in the sorting of statement 47, “Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook”, which the prototype has ranked -4. The difference between prototype two and prototype three is that prototype two has many opinions on pluralism and thinks that one should actively take a pluralist stance in society. Prototype three lives and behaves much like prototype two, but lacks the strong opinions on pluralism that prototype two has.

Prototype four is labelled “Experientially Inclined Committed Believer”. Prototype four has, like prototype one, a strong faith and a religious worldview. This prototype shows a slight positive attitude towards pluralism, but seems mostly uninterested in the matter. For example, one of the only statements about pluralism that prototype four has a strong opinion on is statement 4, “Thinks that the world’s religious traditions point to a common truth”, which is sorted at +3. In the interviews there are only few mentions of other religions or people from other religions. There are also

only a few mentions of other Muslims. However, both respondents in prototype four speak Hebrew, which is a sign of pluralism since they presumably have associated with Jews in order to learn Hebrew. Prototype four leads a pluralist life when looking at social interactions. However, the prototype also seems to think that Israel as a society is negative towards pluralism, and that it is dangerous for Muslims.

	Empirical	
	Negative	Positive
Normative Negative	No appreciation of religious pluralism and not engaged in diversity. Fits none of the prototypes.	No appreciation of religious pluralism but engaged in diversity. Fits prototype three and four, and to some extent prototype one.
Positive	Appreciation of religious pluralism but not engaged in diversity. Fits none of the prototypes.	Appreciation of religious pluralism and engaged in diversity. Deep religious pluralism includes this, but this does not automatically include deep religious pluralism. Fits prototype two.

Image 7: Table of results in relation to empirical and normative religious pluralism.

6 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter I critically reflect on the results of my study in relation to my research questions. I also discuss and evaluate the results in relation to prior research, the theoretical framework and the methodology. I assess the conclusions that I make from the results, and I discuss further research questions that are relevant and that this thesis leaves to be answered in future research.

The main focus of this study was religious pluralism and Muslim university students in Israel. Religious pluralism served as the theoretical framework of the study. My adaptation of religious pluralism in this thesis has been: 1) Religious pluralism as an empirical form of religious diversity and 2) A normative religious pluralism according to which diversity is desirable. The material consisted of eight Faith Q-sorts and eight interviews done with young Muslim adults in Israel within the YARG-project.

The main research question was to study whether there are signs of pluralism and deep pluralism in the sample of young adult Muslims in Israel or not – and how they in that case are showcased in the sample. In short, my analysis confirmed that there are signs of both religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism in the sample, but to a much varying degree. Prototype one, who represents a segment of the sample that is religiously committed and institutionally anchored, only shows slight signs of pluralism. Prototype two, however, who represents the institutionally unattached Universalists, shows signs of both pluralism and deep pluralism. Prototype three, who represents a segment of the sample that is religiously uninterested but culturally committed, also shows signs of both pluralism and some deep pluralism. Lastly, prototype four, who represents the experientially inclined committed believers, shows signs of pluralism but not deep pluralism.

One of my other research questions was to see what standpoints on pluralism and deep pluralism could be found in the four main prototypes in the sample. The results show that prototype one does not favour a pluralistic worldview, and shows no indications of a positive mindset towards deep pluralism. Prototype two on the other hand shows a very positive standpoint towards both pluralism and deep pluralism.

Prototype three seems uninterested in having a standpoint at all, but leads a pluralist life in terms of social associations and other life choices. Prototype four leads a somewhat pluralist life, but like prototype three, prototype four shows a disinterest in the matter.

Another research question in this study focused on whether young adult Muslims in Israel associate with people from other religions. The answer is that young Muslim adults do interact and associate with people from other religions, but that it depends on individual and on the individual's values to what extent it happens. In light of the other results above it comes as no surprise that prototype one mainly seems to associate with other Muslims, while prototype two, three, and four to a varying degree associate with a more diverse group of people.

What opinions young Muslim adults in Israel have on Muslims with a different kind of religiosity than they have themselves was another one of my research questions. This question was left partly unanswered, but some conclusions can however be made. Prototype one shows disapproval of ignorance towards religious teachings and rules, which seems to be present in the society they live in, in other Muslims. Prototype two criticizes hypocrisy among Muslims who pretend to be religious but act in a different manner. Prototype two also criticizes violent groups within Islam, calling them non-Muslim. Prototype three has no strong opinions on other Muslims, but both respondents seem to look up to what they call religious Muslims. Prototype four says very little about other Muslims, so it is difficult to draw conclusions about prototype four's opinions on other Muslims. However, since prototype four has no strong opinions on pluralism as a whole, one can deduce that the prototype accepts, or at least tolerates, all kinds of Muslims.

My last research question has to do with politics and pluralism. What kind of political matters do young adult Muslims support, oppose, or want to discuss, that have to do with religious pluralism? This question is relevant because politics and pluralism often are heavily intertwined. A person's political views may also affect what the person thinks of pluralism and diversity, and vice versa. The political issues that prototype one discusses are mainly political movements. These are movements that they sympathize with and that are seen as extremist movements by the

government. Another thing that prototype one talks about, is that the ruling of the nation should be Islamic. In prototype two it is only respondent 2B who talks about politics, and she indicates a disapproval of extremist movements. Prototype three does not discuss politics at all. This is not surprising, since prototype three shows a clear disinterest in, and indifference towards, matters of pluralism and hence also politics of pluralism. Prototype four mainly speaks about politics in the form of military, since respondent 4A is Beduoin and has served in the army. Respondent 4A has a rather positive view on the Israeli military. Respondent 4B is critical of the political situation in Israel, and thinks that it is dangerous to be a religious Muslim.

The results I have presented above and the observations I have made, requires also some words of caution. They are the result of the qualitative analysis that I have done, and are dependent on many factors throughout the research process. I have found no qualitative research done before, connected to young Muslim adults and pluralism in Israel. Since this is a new field of research, I can make no comparisons or demonstrate whether the conclusions I draw are in line with existing theories and premises. However, many of the findings in my study can be related to studies done in other contexts, such as the findings that I have discussed that resonate with research done on young adults and religion in general or on the religious landscape and viewpoints in Israel (McNamara Barry & Christofferson, 2014; Glanzer, Hill & Ream, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2016).

The theoretical framework used in this thesis, religious pluralism and deep religious pluralism, is to some extent problematic. The concepts are broad and refer to many different behaviours, thoughts, opinions, realities, and ideologies. There is no definite understanding of pluralism. I have applied a broad understanding of pluralism in the thesis, and this may also have led to some confusion in terms of what should be included in the study. The study might have benefited from including even more statements in the analysis, as well as interview sections where these are discussed. Simultaneously, some parts that are included in the study are perhaps possible to interpret as something other than pluralism or deep pluralism, for example as relativism. Nevertheless, I believe that the most relevant points from the material are communicated and that the result and conclusions are reliable. Another potential issue with the theoretical framework is the definition of deep pluralism. In the

analysis, I analyze how the different prototypes and respondents relate to deep pluralism. However, the original theory by Connolly talks of a society that holds a deep pluralism. The very definition of deep pluralism is that of a society with certain values. When I translate this term into something that an individual has possibility to show or indicate, I stretch the boundaries of it. Nevertheless, I think that the utilization of the term in this manner is helpful in the study of deep pluralism in a society as well. It is also questionable whether there can be a societal manifestation of deep pluralism at all, that does not resonate with an individual level of it.

A final reflection on a factor that may have limited the understanding of the material, related to the theoretical framework of pluralism, is that I have left out the historical discussion of the society completely. Richardson says (2014, 34) that one has to understand the history of a society in order for one to understand the societal pluralism in that society today. However, I focused on the individual relations to pluralism rather than the societal or political matters. While naturally these are also affected by history, I have chosen to focus on the situation today and believe that this background, in combination with the understanding of young adults' religiosity, is sufficient to analyze the material and find answers to my particular research questions.

The Q-methodology and specifically Faith Q-sort is a relatively new method. It is imperative to remember that the findings I have made in this study may have some shortcomings due to this. For example, some participants in the FQS found some of the statements incomprehensive in relation to their views. The method also has some other characteristics that should be pointed out. The prototypes found in the sample are not real people, but rather imaginary personas that resemble a certain amount of people in the sample to a varying degree. This means that the conclusions that I draw from the findings cannot be comprehended as the "truth" about what the Muslim sample in Israel is really like. The fact that I also have read only two respondents' interviews and studied only two respondents' FQS sorts for each prototype means that there may be some flaws in the results due to a really small sample. However, the point of my study is not to paint a statistically correct picture of the young adult Muslim community in Israel, but rather to point out what discourses, nuances and

differences there might exist within the sample and among the young Muslims in Israel. All conclusions that I draw should be understood with this in mind.

With all this said, I think the reliability of the results is sufficient in relation to the research questions and to the nature of the study. The results are not meant to be definitive, but rather guideposts for future research or other kinds of work that could benefit from having some basic knowledge about what kind of tendencies towards pluralism there are among the young Muslim adults in Israel. This thesis also demonstrates to the academic society how the FQS method can be used in a study on pluralism, something that has not been done before. The fact that I could discern differences between the prototypes in relation to pluralism also indicates the validity of the FQS.

This thesis is only an introductory study on how young Muslim adults in Israel relate to pluralism and deep pluralism. More research should be conducted on the same subject with more extensive samples and interviews, to get a more profound picture of the realities within the Muslim community in Israel. This could also include Muslims living on the West Bank. This kind of research could be of quantitative nature, since that would give opportunity to study how common the different discourses are. Another interesting research opportunity would be to look into the other religious groups in Israel and study how they relate to pluralism and deep pluralism. This way one could acquire a comprehensive picture of the situation in Israel. A third research opportunity would be to do a follow-up study with the same participants later in their lives, to see whether there is a continuation of the same thoughts that have come up in this study or whether there has been a change of thoughts. Studying the Muslim community closer, studying the other religious groups, and doing a follow-up study with the same participants could help build a foundation for religious dialogue as well as for the peace-building work that is being done in Israel. Such research could help, since the first step in that work is to understand what the starting-point is and how people in a specific area relate to each other.

In this thesis I have found that there are many ways in which young adult Muslim university students in Israel relate to pluralism and deep pluralism. None of the

prototypes that emerged from the sample have a negative view on pluralism, but not all prototypes are clearly positive either. One is also more negative than the others. A majority of the prototypes show clear signs of pluralism in the way they live and socialize. One out of four prototypes leads a life characterized by deep pluralism, and one other prototype shows slight signs of deep pluralism as well. However, how the respondents relate to pluralism and deep pluralism is as diverse as the religious context that the respondents live in is.

7 Summary in Swedish – Svensk sammanfattning

Religiös pluralism hos unga vuxna muslimer i samtida Israel

– En kvalitativ studie av religiös pluralism bland muslimska universitetsstuderande i Israel

Inledning och bakgrund

Israel är ett land präglat av konflikter mellan människor med olika religioner och traditioner (www.cia.gov, 2019). I denna avhandling pro gradu undersöker jag hur åtta muslimska universitetsstuderande i Israel relaterar till andra människor – både människor från andra religioner och andra muslimer. Dessutom undersöker jag vilka attityder de har gentemot religiös pluralism, om de umgås med människor från andra religioner, vilka åsikter de har om muslimer som tänker annorlunda än de och vilka teman inom politiken som de tar upp och som har att göra med pluralism.

Som bakgrund till min undersökning beskriver jag det religiösa landskapet i Israel. Det är viktigt att förstå hur den religiösa, och därmed också politiska, situationen i landet ser ut för att kunna förstå hur människorna där tänker. Det religiösa landskapet i Israel är splittrat; ungefär 17,7 procent av landets befolkning är muslimer, 74,7 procent är judar, 2 procent är kristna, 1,4 procent är druser och cirka 4 procent tillhör någon annan religion (www.cia.gov, 2016). För att ge en förståelse för respondenterna i materialet så beskriver jag också hur unga vuxnas relation till religion kan utvecklas och se ut. Unga vuxnas religiositet kan påverkas mycket av bland annat två faktorer: relationer och högskoleutbildning. Sådana relationer som påverkar unga vuxnas religiositet är till exempel vänskapsrelationer, romantiska relationer och syskonrelationer. Att studera på universitet för ofta med sig en diversifierad omgivning för den unga vuxna, vilket i sin tur påverkar hens världsbild.

Teori

Teorin jag använder i avhandlingen kallas för religiös pluralism (*religious pluralism*) och jag använder också den kortare termen pluralism. Jag använder delvis också en teori som William E. Connolly utvecklat utgående från pluralism, nämligen djup pluralism (*deep pluralism*) (Connolly, 2005). Religiös pluralism kan betyda många olika saker, men den definition som jag använder mig av i avhandlingen innefattar i princip följande fenomen: empiriska former av diversitet i relation till religion, normativa eller ideologiska tankar om värdet av religiös diversitet, samhälleliga faktorer såsom politik och lagar som reglerar ett områdes religiösa diversitet samt vardagliga möten mellan människor som kommer från olika religiösa bakgrunder. Min förståelse av pluralism är följaktligen bred och kan betyda många saker. Djup pluralism i sin tur handlar om en mera utvecklad form av pluralism. Den innebär ett samhälle där det råder djup tolerans och acceptans mot människor från andra religioner, där det görs tydliga samhälleliga försök till att inkludera alla görs samt där det finns en gemensam känsla av generositet och gästfrihet gentemot alla, oberoende av religiös bakgrund (Connolly, 2005).

Material och metod

Materialet som jag använder i avhandlingen består av två delar. Den första delen grundar sig i Q-metodologi, och kallas för *Faith Q-sort* (FQS). Den andra delen är semistrukturerade intervjuer som är gjorda i samband med FQS. Allt material är hämtat inom ramarna för projektet *Young adults and religion in a Global perspective: A cross-cultural, comparative and mixed-method study of religious subjectivities and values in their context* (YARG), som startade år 2015 och leds av professor Peter Nynäs vid Åbo Akademi. Materialet som jag använder är insamlat i Israel, bland den muslimska befolkningen. Alla respondenter är universitetsstuderande, och materialet är insamlat och översatt av Sawsan Kheir som forskar inom YARG.

Q-metodologin är utvecklad av William Stephenson och David Wulff har utvecklat FQS för att fungera i enlighet med metoden. För tillfället är FQS det enda sättet att mäta personlig religiositet med hjälp av Q-metodologi. FQS består av 101 påståenden

som är skrivna på kort (appendix A). FQS-påståendena berör religion, livsåskådning och värderingar. Dessa påståenden ska respondenten sortera i nio olika kategorier från -4 till +4 (bild 1 i avhandlingen). På minussidan ska respondenten lista sådana påståenden som hen inte håller med om, medan de påståenden som hen håller med om ska listas på den positiva sidan. På minus fyra listar hen de kort som hen håller med minst om och på plus fyra de kort som hen håller med mest om. De kort som placeras på noll är sådana som respondenten inte har en åsikt om. När respondenterna har placerat ut alla 101 påståenden i de olika kategorierna, kan man analysera resultaten. Utifrån samplet identifieras några så kallade prototyper, som fungerar som en slags idealpersoner. Målet är att ur ett litet sampel, med hjälp av kvantitativa analysmetoder, få fram kvalitativa resultat. Målsättningen är inte att säga att detta är den typ av människor som det finns, utan snarare att säga att det här är den typ av människor som det kan finnas. Varje prototyp har således egna karaktärsdrag, och visar på att dessa karaktärsdrag finns hos det sampel som gjort FQS-sorteringen (Nynäs et al., 2019).

Analys

Jag studerar de fyra prototyper som identifierats i det muslimska samplet i Israel, och åtta respondenters FQS och intervjuer. Jag har valt två respondenter som fått närliggande resultat i FQS med varje prototyp. Jag tittar på respondenternas och prototypernas FQS-sorteringar, och studerar speciellt de påståenden som har att göra med pluralism. Jag analyserar respondenternas intervjuer som gjorts direkt efter sorteringen av påståendena. I intervjuerna hittar jag tre teman som konsekvent kommer upp och som berör pluralism. Dessa är: den intervjuade pratar om andra religioner och om människor från andra religioner, den intervjuade talar om islam och om andra muslimer och den intervjuade talar om politik som är kopplad till religion och pluralism. Med hjälp av FQS-påståendena och intervjuerna studerar jag olika drag som de fyra prototyperna har när det gäller pluralism.

Prototyp ett visar svaga drag av pluralism i sitt tänkande, men saknar en djup förståelse för människor från andra religioner, vilket betyder att det inte finns drag av djup pluralism hos prototyp ett. Hos prototyp två finns det tydliga drag av både pluralism och djup pluralism. Utifrån intervjuerna med respondenterna ser man att

prototypen visar både generositet, gästfrihet och öppenhet mot människor från andra religioner. Prototyp tre uppvisar också pluralist-tänk, och har en tydligt positiv bild av människor från andra religioner. Hos prototyp tre finns ändå också en känsla av likgiltighet gentemot frågor om pluralism, religion och politik. De lever ett liv som visar på pluralism, men de bryr sig inte om att de gör det. Prototyp fyra visar ännu större neutralitet mot pluralism och bryr sig inte om dessa frågor. De kan umgås med människor från olika religiösa bakgrunder, men de bryr inte särskilt mycket om andras religioner. Prototyp fyra har ett lite större intresse för politik än prototyp tre. En sammanfattning av resultaten hittas i en tabell i avhandlingen, bild 6.

Avslutande diskussion

Det är varierande hur de unga vuxna muslimerna i mitt material relaterar till pluralism och djup pluralism, men ingen av de fyra prototyperna uppvisar en starkt negativ relation till pluralism. Däremot lever vissa av prototyperna ett mera pluralistiskt liv än andra. Jag anser att mina resultat är tillförlitliga eftersom mitt mål endast var att visa på vilka sorts karaktärsdrag relaterade till pluralism man kan hitta i mitt sampel, inte att visa på alla som finns. Naturligtvis finns det också problematik kopplad till teorin, metoderna och forskningsprocessen som kan ha påverkat resultaten, men inte till en så stor grad att jag anser att det sänker tillförlitligheten.

Denna avhandling är en grundläggande studie i detta ämne, men framtida forskning kunde med fördel göras på forskningsområdet. Exempelvis kunde en djupare studie göras hos det muslimska samplet, där också andra åldersgrupper, lägre utbildade och muslimer från Västbanken kunde delta. En sådan studie kunde med fördel vara av kvantitativ natur, för att få reda på hur vanligt förekommande de olika diskurserna är. Dessutom kunde liknande studier göras bland de andra religiösa grupperna för att skapa en helhetsbild av situationen i Israel. Dylika studier kunde hjälpa till i arbetet med religionsdialog i området, och likaså kunde de hjälpa i fredsarbetet i Israel eftersom den första byggstenen i det arbetet är att veta hur de olika människogrupperna relaterar till varandra.

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Appendix A

FQS statements in English

1. Gives substantial amounts of time or money to some religious organization or worthy cause.
2. Has frequent doubts about long-held religious convictions.
3. Views religion as a central means for becoming a better and more moral person.
4. Thinks that the world's religious traditions point to a common truth.
5. Feels guilty for not living up to his or her ideals.
6. Spends much time reading or talking about his or her convictions.
7. Participates in religious practices chiefly to meet others' wishes or expectations.
8. Longs for a deeper, more confident faith.
9. Thinks about the ultimate as a life force or creative energy rather than a supernatural being.
10. Has experienced moments of intense divine, mysterious, or supernatural presence.
11. Has a strong sense of a spiritual or higher order of reality in the midst of nature.
12. Participates in religious activities chiefly on special occasions.
13. Views religious faith as a never-ending quest.
14. Is moved by the atmosphere of sacred or venerated places.
15. Considers the meaning of religious texts and teachings to be clear and true.
16. Being religious or spiritual is central to whom he or she is.
17. Becomes more religious or spiritual at times of crisis or need.
18. Considers religious scriptures to be of human authorship—inspired, perhaps, but not infallible.
19. Understands and relates to the divine as feminine.
20. Relies on religious authorities for understanding and direction.
21. Takes part in religious activities to form or maintain social relationships.
22. Thinks that certain specific beliefs are crucial for salvation.
23. Engages regularly in religious or spiritual practices in private.
24. Takes no interest in religious or spiritual matters.
25. Feels contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practices.
26. Regrets the personal loss of religious faith or a sense of divine presence.

27. Expresses his or her religion primarily in charitable acts or social action.
28. Believes in some way, but does not view him or herself as religious.
29. Is inclined to embrace elements from various religious and spiritual traditions.
30. Considers regular attendance at places of worship to be an essential expression of faith.
31. Is critical of the religious tradition of his or her people.
32. Considers all religious scriptures to be outdated or misguided.
33. Feels spiritually moved and deeply sustained by music, art, or poetry.
34. Sees this world as a place of suffering and sorrow.
35. Feels adrift, without direction, purpose, or goal.
36. Has dedicated his or her life to serving the divine.
37. Has experienced a profound change in religious or spiritual understanding or commitment.
38. Feels confident of attaining eternal salvation.
39. Feels uncomfortable or fearful in turning to the divine.
40. Expresses his or her convictions by following certain dietary practices.
41. Thinks of the divine as a sheltering and nurturing parent.
42. Has a thorough knowledge of religious scriptures or texts.
43. Is consumed by day-to-day responsibilities, leaving little or no time for spiritual matters.
44. Senses a divine or universal luminous element within him- or herself.
45. Feels distant from God or the divine.
46. Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation.
47. Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook.
48. Values his or her own purity and strives to safeguard it.
49. Seeks to intensify his or her experience of the divine or some otherworldly reality.
50. Has used methods of attaining altered states of consciousness.
51. Actively works towards making the world a better place to live.
52. Lives his or her earthly life in conscious anticipation of a life hereafter.
53. Believes in a divine being with whom one can have a personal relationship.
54. Thinks that men and women are by nature intended for different roles.
55. Personally finds the idea of divinity empty of significance or meaning.
56. Embraces an outlook that actively seeks to change societal structures and values.

57. Seldom if ever doubts his or her deeply held convictions.
58. Feels that it is important to maintain continuity of the religious traditions of family and ancestors.
59. His or her sexuality is strongly guided by a religious or spiritual outlook.
60. Views religion as the illusory creation of human fears and desires.
61. Feels threatened by evil forces at work in the world.
62. Prays chiefly for solace and personal protection.
63. Battles with inner impulses that are experienced as dark or even evil.
64. Centers his or her life on a religious or spiritual quest.
65. Furnishes his or her living space with objects for religious or spiritual use or inspiration
66. Deeply identifies with some holy figure, either human or divine.
67. Observes with great care prescribed religious practices and laws.
68. Has sensed the presence or influence of specific spirits, demons or patron saints.
69. Feels a sense of guilt and personal inadequacy.
70. Rejects religious ideas that conflict with scientific and rational principles.
71. Believes that religion should play the central role in the ruling of the nation.
72. Has moved from one group to another in search of a spiritual or ideological home.
73. Thinks that ritual or practice is more important than particular beliefs or mystical or spiritual experiences.
74. Feels personally protected and guided by a spiritual being.
75. Feels a sense of peace even in the face of life's difficulties.
76. Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook.
77. Is profoundly touched by the suffering of others.
78. Is often keenly aware of the presence of the divine.
79. Views all events in this world within a religious or spiritual framework.
80. Faces the prospect of death with courage and calmness.
81. Is positively engaged by or interested in other peoples' religious traditions.
82. Is reluctant to reveal his or her core convictions to others.
83. Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious.
84. Has a vague and shifting religious outlook.
85. Finds it difficult to believe in a benevolent divine being in the face of evil.

86. Is committed to following a spiritual path that is in harmony with the environment.
87. Views religious content as metaphoric, rather than literally true.
88. Views the divine or a higher reality as a deep mystery that can be pointed to but never fully understood.
89. Has experienced moments of profound illumination.
90. Affirms the idea of reincarnation, the cycle of birth and rebirth.
91. Takes delight in paradox and mystery.
92. Takes for granted that particular religious claims are true.
93. Sees personal self-realization as a primary spiritual goal in life.
94. Views symmetry, harmony, and balance as reflections of ultimate truth.
95. Believes that human progress is possible on a worldwide scale.
96. Can see no higher purpose or ultimate destiny for the human species.
97. Is an active, contributing member of a religious or a spiritual community.
98. Willingly gives up worldly or bodily pleasures for religious or spiritual reasons.
99. Takes comfort in thinking that those who do not live righteously will face suffering or punishment.
100. Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality.
101. Considers hypocrisy – not practicing what one preaches – to be common in religious circles.

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Appendix B

Consensus statements for Muslim sample in Israel (YARG)

Consensus statements for Israel (Muslim)

Item	Statement	1	2	3	4
7**	Participates in religious practices chiefly to meet others' wishes or expectations.	-1	0	-1	0
21	Takes part in religious activities to form or maintain social relationships.	0	0	+2	+1
23	Engages regularly in religious or spiritual practices in private.	+1	0	0	0
25	Feels contempt for all religious institutions, ideas and practices.	-3	-1	-1	-3
35**	Feels adrift, without direction, purpose, or goal.	-2	-3	-2	-2
39**	Feels uncomfortable or fearful in turning to the divine.	-3	-2	-2	-4
42**	Has a thorough knowledge of religious scriptures or texts.	+1	-1	0	+1
44**	Senses a divine or universal luminous element within him- or herself.	+1	+1	+2	+1
48	Seeks to intensify his or her experience of the divine or some otherworldly reality.	+3	+3	+4	+2
51	Actively works towards making the world a better place to live.	0	+2	+2	+3
58	Feel that it is important to maintain continuity of the religious traditions of family and ancestors.	+1	0	+1	+2
70**	Reject religious ideas that conflict with scientific and rational principles.	0	+1	0	0
72**	Has moved from one group to another in search of a spiritual or ideological home.	-2	-2	-2	-2
78	Is often keenly aware of the presence of the divine.	+1	+3	0	+2
81**	Is positively engaged by or interested in other peoples' religious traditions.	0	+1	+1	0
86**	Is committed to following a spiritual path that is in harmony with the environment.	-1	-1	-1	-1
91**	Takes delight in paradox and mystery.	-1	-1	0	-1

All statements are not significant at P< 0.01, those flagged with an ** are also nonsignificant at P<0.05

(Young Adults and Religion in a Global Perspective, Åbo Akademi University)

Appendix C

Defining and distinguishing statements for Muslim sample in Israel (YARG)

Prototype 1 – Israel (Muslim): "Committed Institutionally Anchored Believer"

Defining statements

8.**	Longs for a deeper, more confident faith. (+4)
15.**	Considers the meaning of religious texts and teachings to be clear and true. (+4)
98.**	Willingly gives up worldly or bodily pleasures for religious or spiritual reasons. (+4)
3.	Views religion as a central means for becoming a better and more moral person. (+4)
13.	Views religious faith as a never-ending quest. (+4)
2.**	Has frequent doubts about long-held religious convictions. (-4)
18.*	Considers religious scriptures to be of human authorship- inspired, perhaps, but not infallible. (-4)
32.	Considers all religious scriptures to be outdated or misguided. (-4)
55.	Personally finds the idea of divinity empty of significance or meaning. (-4)
85.	Finds it difficult to believe in a benevolent divine being in the face of evil. (-4)
57.*	Seldom if ever doubts his or her deeply held convictions. (+3)
16.*	Being religious or spiritual is central to whom he or she is. (+3)
71.**	Believes that religion should play the central role in the ruling of the nation. (+3)
67.**	Observes with great care prescribed religious practices and laws. (+3)
31.*	Is critical of the religious tradition of his or her people. (-3)
30.*	Considers regular attendance at places of worship to be an essential expression of faith. (+2)
79.	Views all events in this world within a religious or spiritual framework. (+2)
76.**	Mainly associates with persons of the same religious tradition or outlook. (+2)
40.	Expresses his or her convictions by following certain dietary practices. (+2)
28.**	Believes in some way, but does not view him or herself as religious. (-2)
34.**	Sees this world as a place of suffering and sorrow. (-2)
43.**	Is consumed by day-to-day responsibilities, leaving little or no time for spiritual matters. (-2)
100.	Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality. (-1)
64.**	Centers his or her life on a religious or spiritual quest. (0)

* distinguishing at p<.05, ** distinguishing at p<.01.

Prototype 2 – Israel (Muslim): "Institutionally Unattached Universalist"

Defining statements

1.* Gives substantial amounts of time or money to some religious organization or worthy cause. (+4)
41.** Thinks of the divine as a sheltering and nurturing parent. (+4)
74.** Feels personally protected and guided by a spiritual being. (+4)
83. Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious. (+4)
88.** Views the divine or a higher reality as a deep mystery that can be pointed to but never fully understood. (+4)
45. Feels distant from God or the divine. (-4)
47. Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook. (-4)
55. Personally finds the idea of divinity empty of significance or meaning. (-4)
60. Views religion as the illusory creation of human fears and desires. (-4)
66. Deeply identifies with some holy figure, either human or divine. (-4)
97.* Is an active, contributing member of a religious or a spiritual community. (-4)
100.* Supports individual freedom of choice in matters of faith and morality. (+3)
80.** Faces the prospect of death with courage and calmness. (-3)
59.** His or her sexuality is strongly guided by a religious or spiritual outlook. (-3)
90.** Affirms the idea of reincarnation, the cycle of birth and rebirth. (+2)
27.** Expresses his or her religion primarily in charitable acts or social action. (-2)
62. Prays chiefly for solace and personal protection. (-2)
73.** Thinks that ritual or practice is more important than particular beliefs or mystical or spiritual experiences. (+1)
46.** Feels that one should remain loyal to the religion of one's nation. (-1)
77.** Is profoundly touched by the suffering of others. (-1)

* distinguishing at p<.05, ** distinguishing at p<.01.

Prototype 3 – Israel (Muslim): "Religiously Uninterested but Culturally Committed"

Defining statements

28.* Believes in some way, but does not view him or herself as religious. (+4)
43. Is consumed by day-to-day responsibilities, leaving little or no time for spiritual matters. (+4)
45.** Feels distant from God or the divine. (+4)
48. Values his or her own purity and strives to safeguard it. (+4) (consensus)
83. Believes that one can be deeply moral without being religious. (+4)
38.** Feels confident of attaining eternal salvation. (-4)
20.* Relies on religious authorities for understanding and direction. (-4)
37.* Has experienced a profound change in religious or spiritual understanding or commitment. (-4)
36. Has dedicated his or her life to serving the divine. (-4)
47. Feels closest to those who share the same faith or outlook. (-4)
50. Has used methods of attaining altered states of consciousness. (-4)
6.** Spends much time reading or talking about his or her convictions. (-3)
79.** Views all events in this world within a religious or spiritual framework. (-3)
22.** Thinks that certain specific beliefs are crucial for salvation. (-3)
93. Sees personal self-realization as a primary spiritual goal in life. (+3)
5.* Feels guilty for not living up to his or her ideals. (+2)
16.* Being religious or spiritual is central to whom he or she is. (-2)
57.* Seldom if ever doubts his or her deeply held convictions. (-2)
75.** Feels a sense of peace even in the face of life's difficulties. (-2)
60.** Views religion as the illusory creation of human fears and desires. (+1)
74.** Feels personally protected and guided by a spiritual being. (-1)
3.* Views religion as a central means for becoming a better and more moral person. (-1)
98.* Willingly gives up worldly or bodily pleasures for religious or spiritual reasons. (-1)

* distinguishing at p<.05, ** distinguishing at p<.01.

Prototype 4 – Israel (Muslim): "Experientially Inclined Committed Believer"

Defining statements

17.**	Becomes more religious or spiritual at times of crisis or need. (+4)
53.**	Believes in a divine being with whom one can have a personal relationship. (+4)
89.**	Has experienced moments of profound illumination. (+4)
75.*	Feels a sense of peace even in the face of life's difficulties. (+4)
27.	Expresses his or her religion primarily in charitable acts or social action. (+4)
34.**	Sees this world as a place of suffering and sorrow. (-4)
32.	Considers all religious scriptures to be outdated or misguided. (-4)
39.	Feels uncomfortable or fearful in turning to the divine. (-4) (consensus)
50.	Has used methods of attaining altered states of consciousness. (-4)
85.	Find it difficult to believe in a benevolent divine being in the face of evil. (-4)
49.**	Seeks to intensify his or her experience of the divine or some otherworldly reality. (+3)
5.**	Feels guilty for not living up to his or her ideals. (-3)
1.	Gives substantial amounts of time or money to some religious organization or worthy cause. (+2)
8.*	Longs for a deeper, more confident faith. (+2)
61.**	Feels threatened by evil forces at work in the world. (+2)
88.**	Views the divine or a higher reality as a deep mystery that can be pointed to but never fully understood. (-2)
11.**	Has a strong sense of a spiritual or higher order of reality in the midst of nature. (-2)
84.*	Has a vague and shifting religious outlook. (-2)
60.**	Views religion as the illusory creation of human fears and desires. (-1)
80.**	Faces the prospect of death with courage and calmness. (-1)
56.*	Embraces an outlook that actively seeks to change societal structures and values. (-1)
45.**	Feels distant from God or the divine. (0)

* distinguishing at p<.05, ** distinguishing at p<.01.

(Young Adults and Religion in a Global Perspective, Åbo Akademi University)